ORATIONS

OF

I C E R

Translated into ENGLISH.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Eiq;

VOL. II.

Containing the

Following ORATIONS,

VIZ.

First. Second, against Third, CATILINE. The second, 5 Philippie. Fourth,

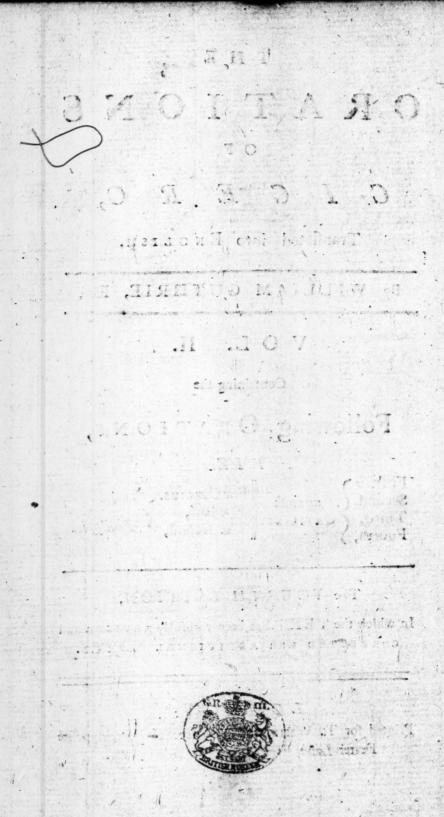
For CÆLIUS. The first,

The FOURTH EDITION,

In which the TEXT has been carefully REVISED and CORRECTED with ADDITIONAL NOTES.

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THE

A RIG UNMIENNIT

10 Conspiracy was over enter'd into with a more bloody View, or if successful, must bave been attended with more difinal Confequences, than that of Catiline against Rome. The Ends which the Conspirators proposed; were not merely Political, such as those of creating an Alteration in the fundamental Con-Stitution of the Government, or removing Per-Sons in Powers but tended to on utter Extinction of all who were not immediately concerned in the Conspiracy. The very City of Rome was to have been fired, and the Senators and Citizens cut off; but as the Particulars of it have been fully described by Sallust, and many other Authors, we shall say nothing more, either of the Persons, or the History of the Confoir ators.

The following was probably not the first Oration which Cicero had pronounced against Catiline and his Accomplices: But, as this contains the Substance of all he had formerly said on this Occasion, it appears, that he had been at no Pains to preserve the others. The Occasion on which it was pronounced, was as follows:

Vol. 11. B Catiling

ARGUMENT.

Catiline, and the other Conspirators, bad met together in the House of one Matcus Lecca; where it was proposed, that Catiline should leave the City, while the others remained to execute the bloody Purposes of their Comspiracy. Upon Catiline's making a small kind of a Disficulty in leaving the City before Cloero was murdered, two Roman Knights who were prefent, whofe Names were Carus Cornelius, and Lucius Vargunteius, undertook to murder bim before break of Day. But Cicero baving Advice of this, by one Pulvia, a noted Courtezan, took fueb Measures as entirely disappointed them, and next Day fummoned the Senate into the Temple of Jupiter Stator, with a Defign to lay before them the whole of the Conspiracy, Catiline appearing at the Place appointed, with the other Conspirators, bis Audacity feems to have provoked our Orator fo much, that be rushes into an abrupt Invective against bim, and bis Associates, whom he pathetically exhorts to be gone out of Rome.

It was pronounced in the Senate, convened in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, in the Year of the City 609, and of Ciccro's Age 44.



M. T.

ICERO'

FIRST

RATIO

AGAINST

CATILINE.



OW far wilt thou, O Catilini abuse our Patience? How long shall thy Madness outbrave our Justice? To what Extremities art thou resolved to push thy bridled Infolence of Guilt ? Canft thou be-

Brand and a hold

b Orig. Eludet : For the Meaning of this Word, fee the Oraor for Mile.

The Reader, no doubt, perceives how finely Cicero suffice into this lovective, as if the Danger had been too immediate to give him Leifure for the Formality of Address and Introduction.

4 CICERO'S ORATION

behold the nocturnal Arms that watch the Pa-LATIUM, the Guards of the City, the Consternation of the Citizens; all the Wife and Worthy clustering into Consultation; this impregnable Situation of the Seat of the Senate, and the reproachful Looks of the Fathers of Rome? Canst thou, I-fay, behold all this, and vet remain undaunted and unabashed? Art thou insensible thy Measures are detected! Art thou insensible that this Senate, now thoroughly informed, comprehend the whole Extent of thy Guilt? Point me out the Senator ignorant of thy Practices during the last and the preceding Night; of the Place where you met, the Company you fummoned, and the Crime you concerted. The Senate is conscious, the Consul is witness to this: Yet, mean and degenerate! the Traitor lives: Lives! did I fay? He mixes with the Senate; he shares in our Counsels; with a steady Eye he furveys us; he anticipates his Guilt; he enjoys the murderous Thought, and coolly

notesing of Guilt? Conf. thou be-

fenfus.

The Romans had no flanding Army at this Time, nor any regular Guards within the City; but on the Discovery of this Conspiracy, they had placed a strong Garrison in the Palatium, which was the highest Hill in Rome, and served as a Citadel; at the same Time, they ordered several Parties to particle through the Streets, under the Command of the Ædiles, and other inferior Magistrates, to prevent the Conspirators setting Fire to the City in the Night.

4 Orig. Concursus: But Quintilian seems to have read Com-

marks us out to bleed. Yet we, boldly passive in our Country's Cause, think we act like Romans, if we can escape his frantic when flech was the Spirit of Rome, the span

Long fince, O Catiline! ought the Conful to have doomed thy-Life a Forfeit to thy Country; and to have directed upon thy own Head the Plagues and Pains thou hast been long meditating for ours. Could the noble Scipio, when Sovereign Pontiff, as a private Roman, kill & Tiberius Gracchus for a flight Encroachment upon the Rights of his Country; and shall we, her Consuls, with persevering Patience bear with Catiline, whose Ambition is to desolate a devoted World with Fire and Sword? Not to mention that antiquated Instance, when Servilius Abala with

A Reader of any Tafte, requires in a Translation, that the Author's Manner as well as Sense, should be preserved. Casar's Rapidity has hurried him into the frequent Use of Dactyles and Peons: Which Aristotle, and Cicero himself, in his Conferences upon an Orator, have highly commended. There is, in this Sentence, a ftrong Inftance of this. - FUROREM AC TELA

The Priests, and even the Pontifex Maximus, had no Power in Civil Affairs, though they might be chosen Prators of Confuls, as this Scipio, Cafar, and several Pontiffs were.

⁸ See Notes on the Oration for Mile.

h When the City of Rome was afflicted with a great Famine, Sp. Melius, a Roman Knight, the richest Man in the City, bought up great Quantities of Corn throughout all Tuscany, and freely distributed it among the poorer Citizens : This gained and and elder to tapped that the land of the

his own Hand punished with Death Spuring Melius, who meditated an Alteration in the Constitution. There was, there was a Time when fuch was the Spirit of Rome, that the Refentment of her gallant Sons more feverely crushed the Roman Traitor, than the most inveterate Enemy. Strong and weighty, O Catiline! is the Decree of the Senate we can now produce against you; neither Wifdom is wanting in this State, nor Authority in this Affembly; but we, let me here take Shame to myfelf, we, the Confuls, are wanting in our Duty.

WHEN

their Affections, and encouraged Melius to aspire to the Sovereign Power. T. Quintius Cincinnatus, being named Dictator, by 2. Servilius Abala, to summon him to appear at his Tribunal, to answer the Accusations brought against him. Melius refusing to come, and calling the Mob to his Affistance, Servilius ran him through the Body, and thus stopped his ambitious Designs. This happened in the Year of Rome 314, which was three hundred and seventy-fix Years before Circo's Consulship.

The Roman Confuts had a very finall Share of the executive Authority in their Hands; they were obliged on every Occa-fion, to lay the Affair before the Senate, whose Orders they were obliged to execute. But on extraordinary Cases, the Senate made an Act, that the Confuls should take Care That the Commonwealth might receive no Injury : By which Words they gave absolute Power to the Confuls to raise Armies, and do whatever they thought proper for the public Interest, without having Resource to the Senate's Advice. By this, they were in Effect created Dictators; so that Cicero had at this Time sufficient Power to seize Catiline and his Accomplices, and try them, without calling a Senate; but he chose not to exert his Authority, to avoid the Odium which might be cast upon him, and for other Reasons, laid down in the Sequel of this Oration.

When the Senate once decreed, the Conful,

Opimius, Should take Gare that the Commonmealth might receive no Detriment, not a
Night passed before his jealous Justice put to
Death Caius Gracchus suspected of Sedition,
though descended of a Father, a Grandfather,
and a Family all eminent for their Services to
Rome; and Marcus Fulvius, a Consular,
with his Children, underwent the same Fate.
When by a like Decree the Government was
put into the Hands of the Consuls, Caius
Marius and Lucius Valerius, did one Day
intervene before Lucius Saturninus, the TriBa

k This was the Conful, who, when C. Gracebus Tiberius following the Plan faid down by his Brother T. Gracebus, endeavoured to put in Execution the famous Agrarian Law, for an equal Division of the Lands, put him to Death.

This Man, though formerly a Conful, joined with C. Gracebus in his Attempt to divide the Lands, and was named one of the three Commissioners for that Purpose. They went on for some Time, carrying every thing before them in the Assemblies of the People, in spite of the Senate, and all the Nobility. But one of the Conful's Lictors being killed by some of the Attechdants of Gracebus, the Senate gave Opinius full Power to do as he thought best, for the good of the State. The Conful commanded all the Nobility, with their Cliebts, to appear in Arms next Morning in the Forum, from whence he marched at their Head to attack Gracebus and Fulvius, who had assembled several Thousands of the lower Rank on the Aventus Mount: The Assair came to Blows, and Gracebus, Fulvius, and his Sons were slain, with three thousand of their Followers, in the Year of the City 631.

m These two having killed a Senator in a Tumult, were declared Enemies by the Senate, who commanded Marius to bring them to Justice. The Consul, armed with dictatorial Power, attacked.

& CICERO'S TORATION

bune of the People, and Caius Servilius, the Prætor, "fatisfied by their Blood the Justice of their Country? 'Yet for these twenty Days have we suffered the Edge of this Assembly's Decision, keen as it is, to remain unactive in our Hands. For we have a like Decree, but it rests upon our Records, like a Sword in its Scabbard; yet this, O Catiline! is a Decree that ought in Course to have given you up to immediate Death. Yet you live; you live, not of to lay aside, but to swell, your andacious Guilt.

Mercy, Fathers Conscript, is my Delight; but never, in the Hour of Danger to my Country, may that Mercy degenerate into Weakness. Yet even now my Conscience tells me that I have been remiss and negli-

gent.

tacked them in the Capitol, and obliged them to surrender, with all their Followers; after which they were stoned to Death by the Mob, before they were brought to a Trial, in the Year 634.

n Orig. Mors ac Reipublicæ pæna remorata. Though nothing can be more plain, than the Meaning of Cicero, by those Words, yet the Variations of Manuscripts, have given rise to numberless Impertinencies of Commentators upon this Passage.

Histories tell us, this Speech was made on the 18th Day after the Decree here mentioned; but the Orator calls it twenty. Days in a round Number.

P Orig. Aciem Hebescere. This is a fine Metaphor, taken from a Sword. He immediately after speaks of a Vagina.

9 Orig. Deponendam.

gent. Within Italy, upon the very Borders of Tulcany, a Camp is pitched against the Republic. The Numbers of the Enemy daily increase; but the Captain of that Camp, the Leader of those Enemies, we behold within our Walls, nay, amidst this Assembly, daily working up fome home-bred Calamity for Rome. Should ' I now at this Instant, Catiline, command thee to be feized, to be dragged to Death, the Censure, which I am afraid I have to dread from every good Man. would be, not that I acted with too much Severity, but with too much Slowness. Yet this necessary Piece of Justice, though long required, a certain Reason prevails upon me still to delay. Thou shalt suffer Death, trust me thou fhalt: but at a Time when there cannot be found a Man on Earth fo much a Traitor, fo much a Villain, fo much a Catiline, as not to applaud the Justice of the Stroke. Thou shalt live, while there breathes a Man, who dares to defend thee; but thou

fhalt

* Catiline had fent C. Manline to raife an Army in Tascany, while he minded their other Designs in Rome; such as murdering Cicera, and firing the City.

* Cicera might have done this by the Valerian Law, made by

^{*} Cicero might have done this by the Valerian Law, made by Valerius Poplicola, immediately after the Expulsion of the Kings. For by this Law, it was declared, that any Man might safely kill a Traitor without a Trial; provided he could afterwards make good his Accusation, and prove the Person sain to have been an Enemy to the Commonwealth.

thalt live, as thou livest now, beset by my necessary my trusty Guards, so that thou shalt not have the Power so much as to wag against the State; for many shall be the Eyes, and many the Ears, who, unperceived by thee, as they have hitherto been, shall watch thy Motions, and observe thy Actions.

BUT, Catiline, what haft thou now to trust to? If neither the Gloom of Night can conceal your lawless Assemblies, nor the Walls of a private Dwelling prevent thy Treafon from lifting up its Voice; if every Word is heard, if every Circumstance bursts into Difcovery. Put off, put off, that hardened Sense; for once wipe from thy Mind the Thoughts of Fire and Murder. You are on all Hands beset; your Practices are clear as the Sun at Noon, as you shall own from the Detail I am now to make. You may remember, that on the twenty-first of October last, 'I foretold in the Senate, that on a certain Day, before the twenty-fifth, Caius Manlius, the Confederate and Creature of your Guilt, would appear in Arms. Was I deceived, Catiline, in my Conjectures upon this enormous, this detestable,

Cidero had certain Intelligence of all Catiline's private Deliberations, by Curius, one of the Conspirators, whom Fulvia, a noted Courtenan, had persuaded to betray their Secrets.

this unparallelled Attempt? But what is more remarkable, did I not point out the precise Day ? I likewife foretold in the Senate, that you had fixed the Massacre of our Nobles for the twenty-eighth; a Time when many of our greatest Men left Rome, not prevailed on by a felfish Sense of their own Safety, but the Patriot Refolution to live that they might crush your Treasons. Can you deny that on that very Day you was fo befet by my Vigilance, by my Guards, that to attempt ought against the State, was out of your Power; though you boafted that the Blood of us who remained in Rome would be sufficient Atonement for the Escape of the others. But how I when favoured by Darkness, you attempted to surprize Preneste upon the 1st of Nevember, didst thou not perceive that Colony to be fortified by my Orders, by my Officers, my Guards, and my Garrison ? The Words of your Mouth, the Actions of your Hands. and the Meditations of your Heart, are familiar to my Ears, present to my Eye, and plain to my Understanding.

RECOLLECT

None of the Historians, who have left us the Account of Catiline's Conspiracy, make any Mention of this Attempt; so that we know nothing of the Circumstances of it, more than Circum here informs us.

his universallelled Accompand Rote what is to

IMMORTAL Gods! in what Air do we breathe; in what a City do we live; of what a State are we Members! Here, here, Fathers Conscript, within these Walls, and in this Assembly, this Assembly, the most awful, the most

w Orig. Inter falcarios: We are told by the Author of the Declamation against Cicero, that this House of Laca, as his Name is spelt on Medals, stood in a very retired Place of Rome, and very proper for being a Magazine of Arms. Inter falcarios, therefore, may signify the Street of the Armorers, more properly than the Reapers, from Falx a Scymiter, hence the Word Faulchion.

^{*} Sallust reckons up ten Senators besides Catiline, who were concerned in this Conspiracy; of which Number is Marcus Portius Lecca.

most venerable the Sun beholds, are Men who meditate my Death, and your Destruction; who meditate the Ruin of this City, and confequently of this World. Their Perfons I can now point out; their Opinions I am now to ask; and instead of shedding their Blood, I spare their Reputation. That Night, therefore, Catiline, you was at the House of Lecca; you cantoned all Italy out, you appointed the Station to which every one was to repair; you' fingled out those whom you in Person was to head; and those who were to stay in Rome; you pointed out the Parts of the City, which the Flames were first to catch, and declared, that you yourself would go forth, but that you would tarry a little, because I was fill alive. Two Roman Knights, then, to ease you of this Disquiet, undertook with their own Hands, before they lept, and electhe Day thould dawn, to disparch me upon my humble Couch. public should not be expused to repeated

SCARCE was your Affembly diffolyed, before I learnt all this. The Guards of my House I doubled; the Retinue of my Person I increafed; to those whom you fent to compliment me in the Morning I refused Admittance; having before-hand to many great, to many worthy Men, declared by whom, and at what Hour thele Compliments were to be paid.

14 CICERO'S ORATION

Since such, O Catiline! is the Situation of yours Affairs, finish what you have planned; for once march out of the City; her Gates are open; they invite you to be gone; too long has the Camp of Manlius mourned the Absence of their Leader. Carry along all your Accomplices; at least as many as possible: Let Rome disgorge her Impurities. From mighty Fears will you deliver me should a Wall divide us. No longer shall you tarry with us. I will not suffer, I will not endure, I will not allow you.

Eternal Gods! and chief to thee, 'O Jove, THE STAYER! thou most antient Guardian of Rome; that they have enabled us so often to escape this dreadful, this dangerous, this detestable Scourge of his Country; and surely for one Man the supreme Safety of the Republic should not be exposed to repeated Dangers.

BEFORE,

y The Romans being put to Flight in an Engagement with the Sabines, Romulus vowed a Temple to Jupiter, if he would frop their Flight, and fave the Roman State; which happening. Romulus erected a Temple to Jupiter, with the Appellation of STATOR, or STATOR.

BEFORE , Catiline, I entered upon the executive Part of my Confulate, I sheltered me from thy treacherous Attempts, not by a public Guard, but my private Vigilance. During the last Election of Consuls, when you endeavoured to murder, in the Field, me the Conful, with the Candidates who opposed you, supported by the Affections and Swords of my Friends, without Violation of the public Peace, I baffled your impious Attack. Afterwards, as often as you attempted my Life, I fingly opposed your Fury, though well I knew that my Death was linked with mighty Calamities to Rome; but on this Occasion, you avowedly attempt to destroy the very Existence of this Government; you doom to Destruction and Desolation the Temples of the Immortal Gods; the Manfions of Rome, the Lives of her Citizens, and the Inhabitants of all Italy. Therefore, as I dare not now pursue the Maxims which distinguished our Government, which characterifed

The Confuls were usually chosen fix Months before they, entered on their Office, during which Time they were called.

Confules Designati, Consults Eles.

Catiline had not only stood Candidate when Cinera was elected, but also offered himself a Candidate at the next Election, where Cicero presided. Being disappointed in both by the Viginance and Interest of Cicero, he haid a Plot to murder him in the Field of Election.

16 CICERO'S ORATION

rised our Fathers, I will pursue a Measure, in its Execution less severe to the Criminal, but in its Consequences more useful to the Public; for should I pronounce your Death, the Dregs of your Conspiracy must still lurk in the Body of the Republic. But would you, as I have often advised you, leave the City, she will then at once disgorge the baneful the contagious Impurity of your whole Faction. How, Catiline! do you hesitate at doing by my Commands, what a little before you was doing of your own Accord. The Consul orders an Enemy to withdraw from the City. Is this then, say you, a formal Banishment? No, Sir, but, this is not your Doom; but, might I advise you, it ought to be your Choice.

TAHW Defination

b Had Cicero, by the Sovereign Authority with which he was then armed, absolutely pronounced a Sentence of Banishment upon Cariline, the Conspirators might justly have reproached him for banishing a Man on bare Suspicions, before any certain Proofs were brought of his Guilt. But the Consul advises Catiline to a voluntary Banishment, by this means to avoid a serverer Punishment, which would certainly be inflicted on him, when the Consul pleased to bring the Affair to a Trial; since, by the former Part of this Oration, Catiline might plainly see that all his Plot, with the most minute Circumstances, was discovered. Though, at the same Time we must here observe, that a Sentence of Banishment was seldom or never pronounced against any Roman; there being no Law which punished any Crime with Exile. The usual Punishment was a pecuniary Musel; they were condemned to pay a Sum of Money, in Proportion to the Greatness of their Crime. If they refused to pay this, or were not able to pay it, they went into a voluntary Exile.

What is there, Catille, that can give thee Joy within this City; wherein, if I except the execrable Cabal of your own Ruffians, there is not a Man to whom you are not the Object of Fear, the Object of Detestation; Is there a domestic Stain, with which thy Character has not been branded? Is there an Infamy in private Life unattached to thy Person? Where is the Lust that has not allured thine Eye, the Guilt that has not defiled thy Hands, or the Pollution that has not stained thy Body? Among all the heedless Youths inveigled by thy wanton Dalliances, is there one whose Infolence has been unsupported by thy Sword, and whose Lusts unsupplied by thy Incentives.

Bur what do I talk? Even lately, after your former Wife died, when by taking another, you dispatched out of your House all that you thought might check your Enormities, Vol. II.

When the stand to have murdered his Brother; debauched his own Daughter; and was suspected to have murdered his Wife and Son, to make Way for Aurelia Orefilla, whom he then loved. Besides his Intrigues with several Ladies of Quality, he debauched a Vestal Virgin, a Priestess of the most sacred Order among the Romans. In a Word, his whole Life was one continued Scene of Villainy and Debauchery.

d He furnished young Men with Money to carry on their wicked Designs, that by rendering them odious to their Parents, and all good Men, he might attach them to his own Party, and make them proper Instruments for whatever Villainy he should

undertake.

[&]quot; See the last Note but one.

didst thou not heighten even that Crime with a new and unparallelled Measure of Guilt? But over this will I draw a Veil; for me it shall rest in Silence. Never through me shall it be known, that there lived in Rome a Man so exquisitely, so monstrously wicked, yet lived with an Impunity of Guilt. I shall not mention that impending Ruin of all your Fortunes, that by the next ides you are sensible must crush you. Let me now proceed to what has no Relation to your personal Infamy in Vice, to your domestic Shame, or your reduced Circumstances; but to what immediately concerns the most important Interest of our Country, to all that is dear to us, and to every true Roman.

Can you, O Catiline! enjoy the Light of Life? Can you with Pleasure breathe this vital Air, when you are conscious there is not a Man present who is ignorant that on the last Day

Catiline had borrowed Money from Time to Time to support his vast Expences; and without doubt his Creditors had advanced him fresh Sums to enable him to stand for the Consultante, which might put him in a Condition to pay them with Usury: But being now twice disappointed, and his Designs discovered, he had no longer any Reason to expect more Money, or any Mercy from them. The Term was the 13th of Novimber, and this Oration was delivered on the 7th or 8th, so that he had but very few Days Respite.

This relates to a former Conspiracy, in which Catiline was concerned. In the Year of Rome 687, when Lepidus and Tullus were Consuls, P. Antronius and Publius Sylla, were elected Consuls

of December, under the Consulate of Lepidus and Tullus, you food with a Weapon in the Comitiumh; that you got together a Ruffian Band, which was to affaffinate the Confuls, and the greatest Men of this City; that this execrable. this frantic Attempt was disappointed, not by any Reverence, not by any Remorfe that struck you, but by the Guardian Genius of Rome? thefe I omit, they are already but too well known; others are of a later Date. How often did you attempt to murder me when I was elected? How often, when I was raised to the Consulate? How often, how artfully, how narrowly. if I may fay it, did I parry the Thrusts, which you knew fo well to throw in, that each appeared Mortal? There is nothing you do, there is nothing you defign, there is nothing you contrive, that I am not informed of, before it is too late. Yet, still are you restless, still enterprifing anew. How often has that Poinard

fuls for the Year enfuing; but being convicted of Bribery, they were deposed, and two others elected in their Stead. To revenge this Affront, Antronius conspired with Pifo, Catiline, and several others, to murder the Consuls on the last Day of December, in the public Assembly of the People, to whom they usually made a Speech on the laying down their Office. The Plot not being sufficiently ripe, was that Day put off to the 5th of February; when it was again disappointed by the Eagerness of Catiline, who gave the Signal before all the Conspirators were assembled. This was well known to the Senate; but there being no positive Proof, Cicero only mentions Catiline's having a Sword in the Comitium, which was contrary to Law.

Any Place where the Assembly of the People was held.

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been wrested out of thy Hands? How often by some Accident has it dropt inessectual to the Ground? Yet, can you not lay it for any time aside! By what infernal, what unhallowed Rites has it been devoted and destined, that you are thus religiously resolved to lodge it in the Bosom of a Consul?

In what a Situation must you now be? I fpeak to you now, not in the Spirit of deserved Detestation, but of unmerited Compassion. Sometime ago you came into the Senate; but of all this full, this frequent Assembly, of all your numerous Friends and Relations. hew me the Man who saluted you. If this is a Case unprecedented in the Memory of Man; with the Keenness of Reproach, need I to embitter this dreadful Doom of filent Detestation? What! at your Reproach, when these Benches were left empty? What! when every Man of Confular Dignity, whom you fo often marked out to bleed, as foon as you took your Place, left the Quarter where you sat, bare and solitary! Will not all this chafe you into Despair? By Heavens, 'if my Slaves should have an Horror

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¹ The President Bonhiers, has a Remark truly French upon this Passage. He says, "He doubts very much whether it deserves the Praises that have been bestowed upon it by Quintillian.

for me, for the same Reasons as every Countryman you have, has for you; I should think. it proper to abandon my own House: Shall, you then presume to remain in this City? Were my Person equally obnoxious, equally odioùs to my Countrymen; I would chuse rather to fly from their Looks, than stand the reproachful Glances of every Man I meet: And shall you, whose Conciousness of Guilt convicts you of the Justice of universal and long merited Detestation, a Moment hesitate in unavoiding the Looks and Company of a People, to whose Souls, and whose Senses, your Person is execrable? Should your natural Parents dread and hate you; should you find that Dread, that Hatred invincible, I suppose you would retire from their Presence: But now your Country, the common Parent of us all, hates and dreads you; and long has the been fenfible, that all your Thoughts have been employed on the Means of destroying her; shall you then neither be abashed by her Authority, submiffive to her Will, nor daunted by her Power?

C 3 HEAR

cause bis Slaves bate bim?" Yes, to be sure; if a Man knew that his Slaves were persuaded he designed to murder them all suddenly in the Night, as was the Case between Catiline and the Romans, he would be a Madman to trust himself under the same Roof with them, This is the Case Cicero puts; Is to Pacta metuerent.

HEAR, O Catiline! the Manner in which we may interpret the expressive Silence of this Parent; hear the Words in which we may suppose her to accost you.

FROM thee, for these many Years, have " all Offences sprung; without thee, has no "Crime had a Being. Through thee, and " through thee alone, the Murder of many " Romans has been unavenged; and by thee, " has the oppreffive Hand that plundered my " Allies', been free and unpunished. Thou " has found the Means that Justice and Law " should not only be neglected, but abused " and abolished. All this, though they ought " not to have been borne, yet did I bear as I " could: But now, that thy conduct alone " ftrikes Terrors through my Soul, that in every Alarm, the dreaded Name of Catiline " first strikes my Thought, now that thy " Guilt

After his Prætorship, he was made Governor of Africa, which he miserably oppressed and plundered. He was impeached for this on his Return by Clodius, and, as was thought, gar

of by bribing his Accuser.

Le Catiline, with his own Hands, killed feveral Noblemen, who were profcribed by Sylla, and secretly murdered many, who opposed his wicked Designs; and had fasse Witnesses ready on all Occasions, to swear whatever he desired. This made him a common Refuge for all Murderers, whom he protected to the utmost of his Power. He was accused, and tried for the Murders he committed in the Time of Sylla's Reign; but was acquitted by the Interest of the Nobility.

"Guilt makes it evident, that you embrace

every Scheme that is laid for my Ruin, now, "indeed, art thou become intolerable. There-

" fore be gone; rid me of my Apprehentions;

" if they are just, I may then avoid Ruin; if

" groundless, at length shall I cease to fear."

SHOULD, as I have supposed, your Country thus accost you, ought she not to prevail, " even though she could not apply Force? But how? Didst thou not surrender thyself a Prifoner? Didst thou not give out, that to avoid Suspicion thou wouldst live in the House of Lepidus? When he refused to receive you, you had the Impudence to come even to me; entreating that I would take you into Custody within my House. I also made answer, that it was utterly inconfistent with my Safety, for me to live in the same House with a Man, with whom I could not, without the greatest Danger, live in the same City". You then applied

m Orig. Etiams wim adbibere non possit. But she is now in 2

Condition to apply Force.

n Why, in the Name of Heaven, did not Cicero accept of Catiline's Offer? Why was so fair, so frank a Proposal rejected by the Government? The Reason he gives here, is an Affront upon the Common Sense of Mankind. Was there not a Place in Rome close or secure enough to confine this dangerous, detestable Rebel, in whose single Person all the Hopes of the Conspirators centered? Was it safe for the Commonwealth that this walking Pestilence should breathe and pollute Roman Air, free

24 CICERO'S ORATION

plied to 2. Metellus, the Prætor, where you met with a new Repulse. Then you marched off to the excellent Marcus Marcellus o, your Companion; a Man, whom obelike you imagined would be very watchful in confining you, very shrewd in observing you, and very brave in bringing you to Justice of But the Man who owns himself worthy of Restraint, how near may we presume him to be to Bolts and Chains? If so, O Catiline! if the Prospect of Death bere is shocking to a Soul like thine; canst thou hesitate in retiring to some other Land,

and unquestioned? Were the Writings for Catiline, published as fairly as those against him, what a strong Argument might we expect to be formed from this Circumstance of resusing a Man a fair Trial, and even, the Security of his Person, that he would stand it? If Catiline did enter upon dangerous Schemes after so plain an Indication that a Conspiracy was formed, by the most degenerated Government that ever existed against his Person, was it any Wonder? If, as unquestionably was the Case, the Government of Rome at this Time were worse than Banditti, and had stripped the People, not only of their Natural and Constitutional Rights, were the People to blame if they treated them as Banditti?

o This is not the Marcellus whom Cicero commends a little lower: This Marcellus was an intimate Friend of Catiline, and probably a Conspirator; the Praises Cicero here gives him, are spoke in Irony. The Marcellus mentioned just below, is he whom Cicero defended in that excellent Oration, For Marcellus. See Vol I.

P Orig Videlicet. Without translating this Word, the Irony would have been loft.

19 It is certain, Cicero often retouched his Orations, and there are a great many Passages in them, as we now have, that were not then pronounced. This Passage I take to be one. Cicero could never venture to affront the Judgment of the Roman

Senate with such an Argument.
There is some Reason for a Doubt as to the Original here,

whether it ought not to be read, Si bic morar.

Land, and in hiding in Exile and Solitude thy Mead, that repeated, that just, that merited Forseit to thy Country's Justice.

Move for the Question, say you, to the Senate. For thus you talk, as if you were ready to obey their Decision, if it shall fix Banishment as your Doom. I will move for no such Question; it is contrary to my Inclination. Yet I will order it so, that you may be fully apprized of their Sentiments with regard to you. "Catiline, leave this City; "rid thy Country of her Fears; go, if all you wait for, is that Word, into Banishment." Ha! Catiline; hast thou the Use of thy Senses; do you mark their Silence? They are passive, they are mute. Need they to strengthen by their Voice what is sufficiently implied by their Silence?

Yet should I speak thus to that excellent Youth Publius Sextius, or the brave Marcellus; before this Instant, upon this very Spot, without regard to the Sanctity of the Place, without regard to my Consular Authority, I had with Justice been chastised by the Hands of the Senate. But, Catiline, in thy Case, while they sit unmoved, they approve thy Doom; while they sit in Silence, they pronounce thy

w

Sentence; and while they stifle their Resentment, they proclaim thy Guilt. Nor is it thus
with the Senate alone, whose Authority you
affect to prize, but whose Lives you slight;
but with these Roman Knights, these brave
honest Men, and every gallant Roman, who,
surrounds our Assembly; whose Numbers you
might have seen; whose Inclination you might
have learned; whose Voices a little while ago
you might have heard; and whose Swords and
Hands I have long with Difficulty restrained
from thy Person; yet with them will I easily
prevail, should thou leave these Walls which
thou hast long devoted to Ruin, to attend you
even to their Gates.

But wherefore do I talk? As if thy Purpose were to be shaken, or thy Guilt reclaimed? That thou shouldst meditate any Flight; that thou shouldst think of any Exile! I wish the Immortal Gods did inspire thee with such a Resolution; yet if, daunted by my Words, thou shouldst resolve to go into Banishment, I foresee what a Storm of Unpopularity must lower over my Reputation; not so much in these

It had been once proposed to the Conspirators, to murder the Senate at once in the Senate House; to prevent this, the Roman Knights were ordered to Arms, and kept Guard round the Temple, where the Senate assembled. These Knights would have dispatched Catiline, upon the least Sign from Cicero.

these Times, while thy Guilt is slagrant, as in the future. Yet with me shall this Consideration have no Weight, provided the Calamity is confined to me, and extends not to my Country. But it is unreasonable to suppose, that thou canst be startled at the Greatness of thy Guilt; be daunted by the Severity of the Laws; or moved by the Dangers of thy Country. Thou, O Catiline! art none of those, whom the Sense of Shame reclaims from Dishonour; Fear, from Danger; or Reason, from Rage.

THEREFORE, as I have often said, be gone: And, if you want to swell the Measure of my Unpopularity, for being, as you express it, thy Enemy, depart directly into Banishment; Do this; then shall I with Difficulty bear up against the Resections of Mankind: Scarce shall I be equal to that Weight of publick Hatred, shouldst thou at the Command of a Conful retire into Exile. But, if you consult the Glory of my Name, march off with your outrageous Band of Russians: Be gone to Manlius; alarm every desperate Roman; divide thee from the Virtuous; make war on thy country;

t Had Catiline retired into some distant Country, without joining Mandius, and the other Conspirators; this would have convinced the Vulgar, that he had been innocent, and accused by Cicero from a personal Quarrel.

Country; plume thee in thy unnatural Robberies: Thus shalt thou seem, not as cast our by me to Foreigners, but invited thither by the Voice of thy Friends.

Bur why do I follicite thee, when I know that you have already detached a Body of armed Men, who are to wait thee at the Aurelium Forum? When I know that thou hast concerted, that thou hast fixed, a Day with Manlius? When I know that thou hast already fent off that Silver Eagle ", the domestic Shrine of all thy Impieties ", and which, trust me, will bring Calamity and Ruin upon thee and thine. How could you so long be deprived of this Object of your Worship? For to it, as often as you went out to murder, you paid your Vows; and thy polluted Hands were by Turns reared to the Altars of thy Idol, and to the Murder of thy Countrymen.

YET at length shalt thou retire to where thou hast long been hurrying through frantic Rage.

" The Eagle, from about the Time of C. Marius, was the great Standard of the Roman Armies; each Legion had one. This Eagle is faid to have been the same which Marius had in

the War with the Cimbri.

w The Roman Standards, and especially the Eagle, were in a Manner worshipped by the Soldiers: They swore by them. This Eagle therefore had been religiously kept by Catiline, and had been sent down to Manlius, as the principal Banner of the Con!piracy.

Rage, and unbridled Ambition! A Circumstance so far from affecting thee with Anguish, that it elevates thee into unutterable Extafy. To fuch a Pitch of Frenzy art thou formed by Nature, trained by Appetite, and referved by Fate: You never delighted in Repose: You never even delighted in War, but when both were flagitious. You have levied a confederate Band of Ruffians; from Wretches. not only completely destitute, but desperate. Here what Transports shalt thou indulge, with what Extafy shalt thou triumph, in what Riot shalt thou revel, when of all thy numerous Crew, thine Ears shall not be shocked with the Voice, nor thine Eyes with the Sight of one honest Man? To the Enjoyment of such a Life are all these Toils, particularly called Catiline's, directed; your lying out on the Ground, not only to compass a Rape, but to commit a Villainy; thy treacherous Vigilance to improve to thy own Purposes, not only the Slumber of the married Man, but the Property of the unguarded, the unsuspecting Citizen. Now hast thou a Scene to display thy boafted Patience under Hunger and Cold, and the want of every Necessary of Life; with all which thou must soon be pinched. So much did I gain, when I disappointed thee of the Consulate, that thy Country should feel thy Attempts

CICERO'S ORATION

Attempts as an Exile, and not thy Tyranny as a Conful; and that every Step of thy Ruffian Treason might be termed the Efforts, not of an Enemy but of a Robber.

Now, O Fathers Conferent! that I may remove, that I may deprecate from myfelf the Confequences of a too well grounded Charge urged by my Country; attentively, I befeech you, hear, and treasure up in the innermost Recesses of your Minds and Memories, what I am now to deliver; for should my Country; that Gount my which to me is far dearer than Life; should all Italy, should all the Frame ofthis Constitution thus accost me: "Marwous Tuilius, what are you about? Will you fuffer any approved Enemy, him whom you fee, who you are fenfible is to be put " at the Head of this impending War, whose " Presence in their Camp my Enemies expeet; that Spring, that first Principle of Guilt and Treason, the Man who sennolls my Slaves, who mins my Citizens; will wyou fuffer bim, I fay, to escape, that he may feem not as driven from, but into this " City?

Term, an Office, fomewhat of the Nature of a Muster-Master.
But we learn from Saluft, that Gatiline never consented to entall Slaves.
7 I read with the Edition of 1474, Civium perditorem.

" dread

" City? Will you not command him to be

" thrown into Fetters, to be dragged to Exe-

cution, and to atone for his Guilt by his

" Blood:

"WHAT restrains thee? The Practice of our Ancestors! When it has been known. " that in this State Persons uninvested with " public Authority, have often put to Death " their wicked Countrymen. Are you bound up by the Statutes relating to the Punish-" ment of Romans? In Rome, never can the " Man who withdraws his Allegiance from " his Country, plead the Privileges of a Ro-Doft thou dread the Reproaches of " Posterity? A glorious Proof of Gratitude " indeed to thy Country, which knowing thee only through thyself, without the Merits of "Ancestors to speak in thy Favour, so early " raised thee through every Gradation of subordinate Trust, to her supreme Seat of Power. Should Reproach however keen, " should Danger however dreadful; render " thee remis, when all that is dear to her Sons is threatned? But if thou art to

furprifing our Andior thought clote to poble and

Summo supplicio Macari. Macari is a Term used in Sacrifices. Great Care ought to be taken in a Translation, to preferve Allusions, where it is possible, with any Propriety) to do it.

[.] See Note on p. 9. 1. 8.

- " dread Reproach, art thou to dread it more
- " on account of thy not being destitute of
- " Honesty and Courage, than for Sloth and
- " Pufillanimity? When Italy shall be deso-
- " lated with War, her Towns given up to her
- Foes, and her Dwellings wrapt in the Flames,
- think, think, in what a Conflagration of
- " Reproach thyfelf must then be consumed!"

To these awful Words of my complaining Country, and of every Man who entertains the same Sentiments, I thus briefly answer: Had I, Fathers Conscript, judged it most expedient that Catiline should die; I had not indulged, to this Trader in Murder, the Respite of a single Hour from Death. For if the greatest of Men, and the noblest of Romans appeared, not only appolluted, but even looked lovely in the Blood of Saturninus, the Gracchi, and Flaccus, and many other Traitors of Antiquity; I, sure, had no Reason to dread the Indignation of Posterity at my destroying this Parrieide of his Country. Yet did I now perceive the Storm of future Reproach impending over my Head; I have ever thought, that Re-

b It is surprising our Author should close so noble and spirited an Epopoiia with a Quibble, Tum to non existimas invidia incomdio conslayraturam. But notwithstanding his great Judgment and Are, it is certain, that when a Quibble lay fairly in his Way, Cierro was never Proof against using it.

proach on account of Public Spirit, in attempting to blacken the Man, distinguishes the Patriot.

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BUT some there are in this Assembly , who either do not perceive, or are unwilling to own their Sense of our approaching Ruin; whose lenient Measures cherished the Hopes of Catiline; and whose Incredulity nursed the Infancy of his Treason. Many, destitute either of Wisdom or Virtue, following their Authority would have faid, that in putting him to Death, I had acted in a Cruel and a Regal Manner 4. Now do I perceive, that should he retire to where he intends, the Camp of Manlius, there is not a Roman so stupid as not to fee, nor so wicked as not to own, that a Conspiracy is formed. His fingle Death, I can perceive, may for a while abate, but never can Vol. II. it

c Gefar, Crassus, and others of the first Rank, were sufpected of being concerned in Catiline's Conspiracy, and of wishing that it might succeed. These were cunning enough not to be present at the Meetings of the Body of the Conspirators, lest they should be discovered; but they served Catiline, by maintaining that the whole Conspiracy was a Chimera of the Consul's Brain, or at most a Design to be revenged on Cicero, for disappointing Catiline so often in his standing for the Consulating.

thip.

d The Romans had such an Aversion to the Kingly Government, that King and cruel Tyrant, were Expressions of the same Signification in their Language. To avoid this Odium, Silla, Casar, Augustus, &c. reigned absolutely under the Titles of perpetual Distator, Imperator, or any Title, except that of

TRUE it is, Fathers Conscript, that long have we trod amidst the dangerous, the doubtful Arts of Treason: But by what Means has it happened, that in my Consulate, the Tumour, pregnant with every Guilt, with long gathering Rage and Infolence, has ripened into Breaking? But if from such a Confederacy in Treason, this one Traitor only shall be removed, we may indulge perhaps a short temporary Relaxation from Care and Concern; but still shall the Danger remain lurking in the Veins and Vitals of our Country. As Patients, in the Anguish of a Disease, and parched with feverish Heat, are at first seemingly relieved by a Draught of cold Water; but foon the Disease returns with redoubled Force and Pain; so our Country gaining a short Interval of Ease, by the Punishment of this Traitor, will, from

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his surviving Confederates, languish with more mortal Symptoms.

WHEREFORE, Fathers Conscript, let the Wicked retire: let them sever themselves from the Virtuous; let them herd together in one Place. In short, as I have often said, let a Wall divide us: no longer let them befet the Conful in his own House; environ the Tribunal of the City Prætor; besiege the Court with their Swords, or lay up Magazines of combustible Balls and Brands for firing the City: In short, let the Sentiments of every Man, with regard to the Public, be inscribed on his Forehead. This, Fathers Conscript, now I promise, that such shall be the Diligence of your Confuls; fuch the Weight of your Body; fuch the Courage of the Roman Knights, and fuch the Unanimity of all the Wise and Worthy, that upon Catiline's Retreat, you shall perceive him and all his Treafons discovered, exposed, confounded, and punished.

BE gone, O Catiline! Be gone, with Omens • fuch as these, into an impious, an ex-D 2 ecrable

The Heathens superstitiously observed whatever was said on their undertaking a Journey, or any Enterprise. Some of the greatest Men have laid aside an Undertaking, or been encouraged

ecrable War, and may its Issue prove Salvation to this Country; Desolation, Destruction, and Death to thee, and all the Affociates of thy boundless Guilt and Treason. Then Thou, O IOVE! whose Name Romulus consecrated by the same Rites with which he founded this City: Thou, whom we rightly call the Stay of this City and Empire'; Thou shalt repel Him and his Accomplices from thy Altars; from the Temples of the other Gods; from the Roofs and the Walls of Rome: from the Lives and Properties of our Citizens: Then shall thy eternal Vengeance, in Life as in Death, overtake all the Foes of the Virtuous; all the Enemies of their Country; all the Robbers of Italy, and all who are linked in the mutual Bands of Treason and execrable Conspiracy.

THE

as weather a government realist

couraged in the Pursuit of it, by a Word dropped by Chance. All the Roman Historians, particularly Livy, are full of this ridiculous Conceit. This folemn Imprecation therefore, pronounced by the Conful, in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, was like the highest Excommunication, and would be constructed a bad Omen to Catiline by all those of his Audience, who had any Regard for the Religion of their Country.

I See the Note on p. 14. 1. 15.

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ARGUMENT.

ATILINE, fruck with the last Oration, rose in bis Place, and after a plausible submissive Apology, was beginning to rail upon Cicero. The Senate calling bim to Order, and expressing the utmost Detestation of his Guilt, be thought fit to rush out of Rome, and fly to the Camp of Manlius.

Next Day, Cicero affembled the People, ana delivered the following Oration, in which be bad two Views; first, to vindicate bis Conduct in forcing Catiline from Rome; secondly, to put them upon their Guard, as the Accomplices of Catiline were Still within the City.

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M. T.

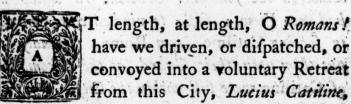
CICERO's

SECOND

ORATION

AGAINST

CATILINE.



intoxicated with Insolence, breathing out Guilt, impiously meditating the Destruction of his Country, and threatening you, and this City, with all the Calamities of Fire and Sword. He is gone, he is vanished, he is escaped, he is fallyed out. No longer now shall that Prodigy,

digy, that Monster of Men, scheme the Ruin of this City, while the harbours him in her Bosom. This Ringleader of Rebellion we have doubtless quelled. His Dagger is not now pointed to our Breafts. Nor shall we now tremble in the Field of Election, in the Forum, in the Courts of public Juffice, or within the Walls of Domestic Retirement, When he was driven from the City, he ar bandoned his Post; and now without Reserve, as we have no Obstacle, may we treat him as an open Enemy: Great furely must be his Perdition, and glorious our Conquest, since we have forced him out of the Character of a Bosom Traitor, into that of an Avowed Rebel.

How mortifying, how afflicting, how fenfibly afflicting may you imagine it to be to Catiline, that he carried away the Point of his Dagger unbathed in the Blood he designed to spill; that be we lived to see him retreat, that

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Orig. Loco motus est: This is a military Term; the Omen of Victory was taken from an Enemy being obliged to yield his Ground. Salust takes Notice, that every one of Cariline's Soldiers covered, when dead, the Ground on which he stood when alive. Nam fere quem quis vivus pugnandi locum seperat, cum, amissa anima, corpore tegebat. Neque received loco, says Planius. I see no Reason why the Commentators should apply the Plural here to Cicero alone, since Califine's Intention was to murder all the Citizens.

we wrested the Sword from his Hands: that he left our Citizens undestroyed, and our City undemolished. Now, O Romans ! he lies in the Dust; now he perceives himself buffetted and spurned, and often, with Eyes a-scance, he furveys our City, and mourns her Deliverance from his destructive laws. While, to me, the feems to assume a gayer Air, for having difgorged, for having flung out that Pestilence. But if there is a man, who, as every Man ought to do, feels for his Country, vet bitterly accuses me on that very head, on which I now speak with Pride, with Triumph, I mean that I did not rather apprehend, than fend away that most formidable Enemy. That, O Romans! is not my Fault, but that of the Juncture. Death, and the feverest Judgment of his Country, ought long ago to have overtaken Catiline: the Practice of our Ancestors, the Justice of our Government, and the Interests of our Country, required me to put him to Death. But how many

c The Romans were so jealous of their Liberties, that a Suspicion of attempting a Change, was often fatal to the Party suspected. The Gracebi, Sempronius, Fulwius, &c. were slain for attempting an equal Division of the conquered Lands. Manlius Capi olims, Sp. Melius, and others, were put to Death, upon circumstantial, and even sight Proofs. Scipio was driven to Banishment after all his glorious Services. In a Word, Popularity, and Ability to disturb the State, was often punished with as great Rigour by the Romans, as a real Attempt on their Liberties could have been.

many do you imagine were they, who would not believe what I advanced? How many, who from Stupidity, could not bave thought it? How many would even have taken his Part, and how many would have loved him for his Wickedness?

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But could I have thought that your Dangers were to cease in his Destruction, I had long since destroyed Lucius Catiline, though I had done it at the Hazard, not of my Reputation only, but my Life. But when I plainly saw that, without convincing you, (as all of you at 'least, were not even then convinced, of the Fact) if I had given him up to merited Death; yet the Load of Enmity, which I must have borne, would have disabled me from prosecuting his Accomplices; I brought the Matter to this Issue, that as I placed the Enemy full in your View, you might without Doubt, and without Dissidence, enter upon vigorous

Orig. Ne webis, quidem omnibus re etiam tum probata: I have feen no Translation or Commentator yet, which has understood the Meaning of the Particle quidem in Gicero. It implies the same, but in a greater Diminution, as fallem; as such I have translated, and it is the only Way by which this Sentence can be made Sense. Gravius has grossy misunderstood it, by not attending to the Import of this Adverb, which is perpetually occurring in Cicero, and perpetually leading Translators, and Commentators, and other Interpreters, into Blunders. At the same Time 1 am far from afferting, that it has not another Meaning; but that must be directed by the Sense.

vigorous Action. How formidable, how very formidable this Enemy is Abroad, learn, my Countrymen, from this; it gives me Pain and Disquiet to think that he left this City with so thin a Retinue. I wish he had carried off with him his whole Force; he has carried off Tongillus, who is reported to have been the Object of his criminal Passion when a Youth; he has carried off Publicius and Munatius, whose Tavern Scores never could have affected the Government; but of those he has left behind, how important are the Persons, how deep the Debts, how powerful the Interests, and how noble the Birth!

THEREFORE, I hold in utter Contempt, in respect of our Gallic Legions, and the Levies which Quintus Metellus has made in the Countries of Ancona and Lombardy, with the Forces we are daily raising, his Army composed of aged Despair, of clownish Debauchery, and rustic Intemperance, of Men, who rather chose to sly from their Bail, than from their Army; Fellows so unsit to stand the Look of an Enemy, that they would tremble should one shew them the Writ of a Prætor.

Those

This feems to have an Eye to Cafar and Crassus, at that Time two of the principal Noblemen of Rome; who certainly savoured Catiline.

Those whom I perceive fluttering in the Forum, fauntering about the Courts, and even stepping into the Senate-House, sleek with Perfumes, and thining in Purple: Those I had rather he had carried out as the Companions of his Arms; if these should remain here, mind me when I fay, that the Deferters are more formidable than the main Body of their Army; and still more so in that, though they are conscious of my knowing all their Plots and Schemes, yet they remain cool and unconcerned. I can here point out the Man to whom Apulias is allotted, to whom Tufcany, to whom Ancona, to whom Lombardy: I can here point you out the Man, who claimed the Talk of betraying our Citizens to the Sword and our City to the

f Orig. Mementote: When Cicero uses this reduplicated Termination, it is with a solemn Air, and calculated to beget the greatest Attention; as afterwards celebratote.

h Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Coffius, undertook to fire the City, and murder their fiercest Enemies; particularly Cethegus promited to dispatch Cicero; and even offered; with a small Force, to attack the Senate House, and cut off all the Senate at once.

Salust tells us, that Catiline, some time before, had sent Manhus to Fasiula, and the adjoining Parts of Tuscany; Septimius Camers to Ancona, and C. Julius into Apulia, to make Levies. But Cicero seems here to mean some Persons of greater Note, yet in Rome, who were to command in chief in those Countries, whose names are not lest us by any Historians, except that Marcus Caparius is said, in the third Oration against Catiline, to have been named to raise the Shepherds in Apulia.

44 CICERO'S ORATION

Flames. They are sensible that to me were all the Secrets of their last nocturnal Confultation divulged: Yesterday I laid them before the Senate; Catiline himself trembled, he sled; then why do those tarry? Fatally are they mistaken, if they hope for the Continuance, the Perpetuity of my former Forbearance.

The Point I had in View I have now gained, which was to give you ocular Proof of a Conspiracy being formed against your Country; unless some may imagine that a Man may share in the Vices, yet not enter into the Sentiments of Catiline. Away with Gentleness, the Juncture calls for Severity: One Point I will even now yield; let them depart, let them be gone, nor suffer their Leader to languish in their Absence. I'll chalk out the Road, he went by the Aurelian Way; if they make Dispatch, before Night they may reach him.

HAPPY Country, could it be drained of the Impurities of this City! To me the Abfence of Catiline alone, seems to have given it fresh

The Expression in the Original, alludes to a Pump, which draws up the putrid Water in a Ship: Hence he says immediately after, Uno Catiline exhausts, Catiline alone being pumps

fresh Bloom and Beauty. Where is the Villainy, where is the Guilt that can enter into the Heart and Thoughts of Man, that did not enter into his? In all Italy what Poisoner, what Gladiator, what Robber, what Cutthroat, what Parricide, what Forger, what Rascal, what Russian, what Debauchee, what Adulterer, what Strumpet, is there found among the Corrupted or Corruptors of our Youth, among the Abandoned of our Country, that did not own an intimate Familiarity with Catiline? For these many Years, where has been the Murder, to which he has not been accessary, where an infamous Rape, and he not an Accomplice? Had ever any Man fuch Talents for debauching Youth as he possesses, who indulged himself in a criminal Flame for others, and others in an infamous Passion for himself. To some he promised the Object of their Lust, to some the Death of their Parents, and not only prompted Defire, but forwarded Enjoyment. At this Instant, what a prodigious Number of abandoned Wretches has he got together, not only from the City but the Country! There is not a Bankrupt, I will not fay in Rome, but in the remotest Corner of Italy, who is not an Affociate in this detestable Combination of Guilt.

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And that you may be sensible how he united in his Person opposing Qualities and differing Characters, there is not in any Fencing-School a Bully more than commonly venturesome, who does not confess an Intimacy with Catiline. The Strumpet, and the Stager, ingenious and industrious in every Art of Infamy, dwell on the Remembrance of the jovial Hours they have passed together. Yet this Hero practised in Robberies and in Rapes, while he was dissipating in lawless Lusts, the Supplies of Industry, and the Means of Virtue, was by his Associates celebrated for his Fortitude, for his Patience under Cold, Hunger, Thirst, and Watchings.

Would his Companions but follow him, would his desperate, his profligate Band depart from Rome; well might I pronounce ourfelves happy, our Country fortunate, and my Consulate glorious! For Mankind has now attained to an Extravagance of Guilt; their Crimes appear not now the Crimes of Men:

Aá

The Word Sodalis, which is used in the Original here, fignifies a Pot-Companion; Cicero uses this Word to give the Senate the meaner Idea of Cariline; and by that Ridicale, raises at once their Contempt and Aversion. I have endeavoured to express his Manner with his Meaning.

As they are inhuman, fo are they intolerable. Murders, Burnings, and Rapines, now engross their Thoughts. Their Patrimonies they have fquandered; their Fortunes they have gormandized away; long have they been without Money, and now begin they to be without Credit, while they retain the Rage of Defire, without the Means of Enjoyment. Did they in their Revels, and their Gaming, aim only at the Enjoyment of the Bowl, and the Strumpet, their Case were indeed desperate. but ftill might it be borne with; but who can fuffer that the Coward should betray the Brave, the Witless the Wife, the Sottish the Sober. the Indolent the Industrious! That lolling at their Revels, carefied by Strumpets, crowned with Garlands, befmeared with Ointments, weakened with Whoring; they should belch in what Manner the Virtuous are to fall under their Swords, and this City to fink under Flames.

Over fuch I hope some Fatality is now hanging, and that the Pains long due to their Villainy, their Crimes, their Guilt, their Lusts,

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Orig. Erudant: This is a fine Expression, after the Picture which has been drawn, and therefore it would have been unpardonable, had it not been literally preserved.

are now ready, are now either impending of approaching. These, if my Consulate cannot cure, it shall remove, and thus insure to this State, not a short, but an extensive Duration. For there is no Nation whom we dread: There is no Prince in a Condition to attack the People of Rome. Abroad, through the Courage of one Man, by Land, by Sea, all is Peace. At Home, we are at War; within our Walls, Treason resides; within them. Danger is shut up; within them, an Enemy lurks. With Luxury, with Frenzy, with Guilt, must we struggle. In such a War, O Romans! I put myself at your Head; be it mine to stand the Shock of desperate Malice; to whatever can be cured, will I apply every Means of Cure; but what must be cut off, will I not fuffer to fester, and to infect the Sound. till the whole State is destroyed. Let them therefore be gone, or be at rest; but if they are resolved to keep at once the City, and their own fentiments, let them look for what they deferve.

Some, O Romans! there are, who affirm, that by me Catiline was driven into Exile. Those who say so, could a Word effect it, my Word should drive into Exile likewise.

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be fure so shamefaced, so excessively modest, was the "Gentleman, that he was not able to stand the Words of the Consul; no sooner was he commanded into Banishment than he submitted, he obeyed. Yesterday, after I had narrowly escaped being murdered in my own House, I summoned together the Senate in the Temple of Jove the Stayer, I laid the whole Affair before the Conscript Fathers; when Catiline came thither, did a Senator accoss him? Salute him? Or look on him as a desperate Citizen, and not rather as a most outragious Enemy? Nay, the Chiefs of that Order left that Part of the Benches, to which he approached, bare and empty.

HERE, I, that furious Conful, whose Word can drive Citizens into Exile, demanded of Catiline, Whether he had, or had not been at the House of Marcus Lecca, in a nocturnal Cahal: Excessively bold as he was, when Self-conviction had struck him dumb, I first laid open the whole; the Transactions of that Night, where he had been, what was to be the Business of the next, and instructed the Assembly in all the Dispositions of his future Vol. II.

m This is Irony, and therefore admits of a more modern Turn.

War: While he appeared disconcerted and abashed, I demanded why he doubted to be gone on an Expedition he had fo long prepared for; when I knew that he had already dispatched before him, Arms, the Axes, the Badges of Authority , and Trumpets, Military Enfigns, and that Silver Eagle, to which within his own House he had reared a Shrine of Iniquity. Did I drive into Exile, the Man. who I already faw has entered upon Hostilities? For it is likely, that o Maniius, a petty Centurion, who had pitched his Camp in the Fields of Fasula, declared War against the Romans on his own Account; that his Camp does not now expect Catiline, to become its General, and that he will make Marfeilles, and not that Camp, the Abode of his Exile.

WRETCHED is the Situation attending not only the Government, but the Preservation of a State. Now should Catiline, watched, entangled, and weakened by my Cares, my Counfels.

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[&]quot; When the Consuls, on the Expiration of their Office, went to the Government, they were allowed to carry before them the Bundles of Rods and Axes, as Enfigns of their Power and Authority, as well as the Confuls for the Time being. And fometimes when private Persons were sent Governors into Provinces. they were likewise allowed to carry these Badges of Authority. These Catiline usurped, and entered the Camp of Manlius with all the State of a Conful. c Orig. Manlius ifte Centurio.

Counfels, and at my Peril, be fuddenly alarmed, change his Resolution, abandon his Party, give up his hostile Designs, and alter his Career of Guilt and War, into that of Flight and Banishment: Then it will be faid, that he was not stript by me of every Weapon of Infolence; aftonished and confounded by my Diligence, or driven from all his Hopes into Despair; but an uncondemned, and unoffending Exile, banished by the Power and the Threats of a Conful: Should the Conduct of Catiline be fuch as I describe, some would represent him, not as mischievous, but miferable, and me not as a careful Conful, but an unrelenting Tyrant. Little, O Romans! does it affect me, that all the Storm of this groundless and bitter Malice, should break on my Head, provided that I can shelter you from the Tempest of this dreadful, this unnatural Be it faid, that he was driven out by me, so he but goes into Banishment; but believe me, Romans, he will not go; though I never shall pray to the immortal Gods, that, to take some Part of the Blame from me, you may hear that Catiline is at the Head of a. hostile Army, and spreading Desolation with his Sword: Yet this must you hear in three Days; and then my greatest Fear is, that the E 2 Time

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Time may come when I should be reproached, not for forcing him to fly, but for suffering him to depart. But if some affirmed that he was forced away, when indeed he went voluntarily, what would they not have said, had he been put to Death.

But they who give out that Catiline is retiring to Marseilles, speak it not so much by Way of Complaint, as of Dread. There is not a Man among them so tender hearted, as not to wish him rather with Mandius, than at Marseilles. But indeed, had he never thought on what he is now executing; yet would he chose to fall as a Rebel, rather than live as an Exile: But now as nothing has happened, but what he courted and expected, except that I was alive when he left Rome, let us rather wish than complain, that he may go into Banishment?

But why do I dwell so long upon one Enemy, and an Enemy, who avows himself as such; an Enemy, whom, as a Wall divides us, as I have often wished it should, I no longer dread: And shall I speak nothing of those disguised Traitors, who remain at Rome, and mingle in our Assemblies; whose Punishment

ment I don't so much aim at, as, if it were possible to be effected, their Cure, and Reconciliation to their Country? Nor, would they listen to me, do I see any Impossibility in this. For to you, O Romans! will I explain of what Kind of Men their Forces consists; then shall I, in the best manner I am able, apply to each every Remedy of Advice and Eloquence.

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THE first Sett confists of those who having great Debte, but still greater Estates, are so much in love with the last, that they don't care to get rid of the first. These, as they are Men of Substance, are specious in Shew and Appearance, but fhameless in their Ends and Intentions. Dost thou possess, art thou gay, in a Land-Estate, fine Honses, rich Plate, a numerous Retinue? In short, dost thou wallow in all the Comforts, all the Superfluities of Life, yet grudge to take from thy Wealth that thou mayst add to thy Credit? What dost thou look for? For War? And doft thou imagine that thy Estate shall be unviolated amidst universal Desolation. A Bill of Insolvency? They E 3

The Roman; were often obliged to pass a general Bill, by which all the Debts were abolished; sometimes Creditors were obliged to accept of a third, or a sourch Part, in full of all Demands

54 CICERO'S ORATION

I shall give my Assistance to bring in a Bill; but it shall be limited; and this is the only Measure by which some of them as possess Property can possibly be preserved from Ruin; and had they sooner agreed to it, nor foolishly run out their Estates in Mortgages, we should at this Day have seen them both richer Men, and better Citizens. But I am far from thinking this Class formidable; because it is possible to persuade them into right; or if they continue obstinate to me their Country appears to be in more Danger from their Prayers, than their Arms.

THE next Sett consists of those, who though deep in Debt, yet aspire at Power; they want to be at the Helm, and think in the Storm of Government to acquire those Honours they despair of in its Calm. To these I shall give the same Advice as to the rest, which is to give over Thoughts of obtaining what they aim at. In the first Place, I myself am watchful, active,

mands. The Expectation of this from Cataline drew over Multitudes of the lower Sort to his Party; or at least, made them wish him Success.

By which the Estates of the Debtors were put to Sale to fatisfy their Creditors.

That is, they wish for a Change in the Constitution; they wish for a Bill of Infolvency; but will not give themselves any Trouble to bring it about.

and provident for the public Interest; then there is on the Side of the Virtuous amongst us, great Courage, great Unanimity, large Numbers, and a fine Army. In short, I trust that the Immortal Gods will immediately interpose against such Ruffian Guilt, in Favour of this unconquered People; this glorious Empire, and lovely City. Had they attained to the End of all their frantic, their eager Wishes, did they hope to fpring up Confuls, Dictators, or Kings, from the Ashes of this City, from the Blood of her Citizens, which they wickedly, which they treacherously, conspired to spill? Don't they foresee, that even though they should succeed in their Confederacy of Guilt, yet that they must be overtopped by some Scoundrel, or Gladiator in the Objects of their Ambition.

A third Kind is of advanced Age, but hardened Vigour: Such is Manlius himself, who now resigns his Command to Catione. These are of the Colonies, which Sylla planted at Fassulæ; which I am sentible in the main consist of the bravest of Men, and the best of Ci-

E 4 hands elle tizens,

The Romans usually rewarded the veteran Soldiers with Houses and Lands in the conquered Countries. Sylla divided the Lands round Fasula among his Soldiers, and advanced some of them to the Equeltrian and even to the Senatorian Rank.

56 CICERO'S ORATION

Citizens. But these are Planters, who getting more Money than they either expected or knew how to manage, run out their Fortunes in Riot and Excess. These, while they build like LORDS, while they indulge upon the Estates. in their Sedans, amidst their great Retinue and fumptuous Entertainments, have plunged themselves so deep in Debt, that in order to retrieve their Affairs, they must have some Sylla conjured up from the Shades of Death. And these have persuaded into their once successful Scheme of Rapine, some poor needy Clowns among themselves. Both these, O Romans! I place under the fame Head of Robbers and Plunderers. But my Advice to them is, that they would awaken from their frantic Dreams of Dictatorships and Proscriptions. For the Calamities of the Times when these prevailed, have so galled the State, that not Men only, but even Beafts, would refuse again to submit to the Yoke.

THE fourth is a motly, mixt, and mutinous Kind. Long have they been deprest, never will they rise; through Indolence, Mismanagement, and Extravagance, they now droop beneath a Load of ancient Debt; they are quite teazed

know to fine, to

ments, and Executions; and I hear that in great Numbers they refort both from City and Country to the Enemy's Camp. Such I don't so much take to be keen Fighters, as indolent Shufflers; if they can't stand on their own Legs let them drop down; but so gently, that the Shock may be unperceived, not by the Public only, but by their nearest Neighbour. For I cannot comprehend why, if they cannot live with Honour, they should defire to die with Infamy; or why they should imagine it less Pain to die in Company, than to fall by themselves.

THE fifth Kind is a Collection of Parricides, Cut-throats, and thorough-paced Villains under all Denominations. These I shall not envy to Catiline; he and they are inseparable; and even let them perish in their own Robberies, since their Number is too great to be confined within a Prison.

I come now to those who are not only the last in my List, but the last of Mankind in their Life

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t Though I have applied Law Terms to this passage, yet it will be found, that they answer as literally to the Original, as any other can. Therefore they are proper, and no other would.

Life and Morals: These are the Life-Guard, the Partners of the Bed and the Bosom of Catiline, and appropriated to him; these beardless or bearded, you fee with curled Locks and blooming Complexions; in full Drefs, in flowing Robes, and wearing Mantles inflead of Gowns ". The Labours of whose Life, and the Toils of whose Vigilance are only seen in the Midnight-Revelieds ad and wine olide I

for I cannot comprehend why, if the UNDER this Class are ranked Gamesters, Whoremasters, the Lewd, and the Lustful of every Kind. The foft infinuating Youths, practised in the amorous Arts of either Sex; know to fing, to dance, nay, on occasion, they can aim the murdering Dagger, and spice the envenomed Bowl. 'Tis not enough that Catiline shall fall; for unless these depart, unless they die, believe me, that in this State we shall have a Nursery of rising Catilines. But what doth these Wretches mean? Can they carry their Wenches along with them into the Camp? Yet can they be without them these cold dreary Nights? How can they bear the Apennine, its biting Frosts and Snow? Unless they imagine that

[&]quot; It was a Mark of Effeminacy among the Romans to wear their Gowns loofe and flowing. To have them made narrow, and girt tight, was reckoned the diffinguishing Mark of an ac-tive Man, ready for Business.

that their dancing naked at Revels has hardened them to endure the Severities of the Season. A formidable War, I must needs say, since the Houshold-Troops of our capital Enemy consist of shameless Strumpets!

AGAINST these gallant Forces of Catiline, put now, O Romans! your Guards, your Garrisons, and your Troops in Array: And first, to that bruised and battered Gladiator oppose your Consuls and Generals; next against that expelled, extenuated Crew, whose Fortunes are shipwrecked, draw out the Flower, the Strength of all Italy.

AND now shall the Ramparts of your Colonies, and your freed Cities, be opposed to the woodland, and the rustic Works of Catiline. But here I ought to run the Parallel no surther, nor compare your other Troops, your Trophies, and your Towers, to the Nakedness and Necessity of that Robber. Waying all Considerations arising from Things of which we are provided, and he destitute; such as the Senate, the Knights, the People, the Treasury, and the Revenues of Rome, all Italy, whole Provinces, foreign Nations; if, I say, waving all these, we shall balance the very Circumstances

Circumstances of the opposing Parties; from that we can form a true Notion, how very low our Enemies are reduced. " Here Regard to Virtue opposes Insensibility of Shame, Purity Pollution, Integrity Injustice, Virtue Villainy, Resolution Rage, Dignity Defilement, Regularity Riot; on one Side are ranged Equity, Temperance, Courage, Prudence, and every Virtue; on the other, Iniquity, Luxury, Cowardice, Raffiness, with every Vice; lastly, the Struggle lies between Wealth and Want, the Dignity and the Degeneracy of Reason? the Force and the Frenzy of the Soul; between well-grounded Hope and widely extended Despair. In such a Strife, in such a Struggle as this, even though the Zeal of Men were wanting, must not the Immortal Gods give fuch shining Virtues the Superiority over so great, and fuch complicated Vices?

Since such, O Romans! is our Situation, do you, as I have already advised, each of you, provide for your domestic Security by Ward and Watching. I have taken Care, I have provided effectually, that the Peace of the City shall be kept without alarming you, and without Riot within the Walls: Your Planters and the Inhabitants of your municipal Cities, advised

vised by me of Catiline's nocturnal Excursion. will eafily defend their own Possessions and Cities. The Gladiators, his strongest, and, as he thought, his most trusty Band, and indeed. much honester Men than some Patricians I could name, shall be curbed by our Power. Quintus Metellus, whom, upon my foreseeing this Event, I had fent into Ancona and Lombardy, shall either destroy the Traitor, or baffle all his Motions, and all his Measures. As to other Matters, in what Manner these are to be regulated, to be conducted and executed, we are now to confult the Senate, whom you fee affembling.

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As for those who are left within this City, and left by Catiline for its Destruction, and your Confusion, though they are Enemies, yet still are they our natural Fellow-Citizens, and as fuch, will I give them my repeated Admonitions. If my Lenity has hitherto seemed inclinable to Weakness, it was with a View that this latent Corruption might be discharged. But now can I no longer forget that this is my native Soil, that to these I am Consul, THAT I MUST SPEND MY LIFE AMONG MY COUNTRYMEN, OR LAY IT DOWN FOR MY COUNTRY; the Gate is without a Guard'

Guard and upon the Road lies no Ambush, they who decline to depart, may do as they think fit; but among those who remain in the City. should any one create, should he attempt, should he so much as seem to aim at the least Disturbance, and be discovered by me, he shall be sensible, that within those Walls are vigilant Confuls, active Magistrates, keen Swords. a brave Senate, and a Dungeon; that Scene in which our Ancestors thought proper to punish unnatural Guilt and avowed Rebellion.

ROMANS, all this shall be so transacted, that the greatest Events shall be brought about without Disturbance; the most imminent Dangers averted without Alarm; and an intestine, a domestic War, more extensive, and more cruel. than the oldest now alive can remamber, without my laying aside these peaceful Robes , shall by me be conducted and quelled. All this.

That is, though I have placed Guards to prevent the At-tempts of the Conspirators, I have given no Orders to stop any

fingle Person from going out.

The Confuls, before their fetting out on any military Exredition, used to put off their Gowns, and put on their military Dies, with great Ceremony and publick facrifices. Cicero tells them, his Scheme for the suppressing the Conspiracy, was so well laid, that without changing his Gown, the Drefs of Peace, he would quell all the Disturbance.

this, O Romans! will I manage so, that, if there is a Possibility of avoiding it, not a single Rebel shall, within the Walls of this City, be punished for his Guilt. But if the Hand of avowed Insolence, if the Dangers of my suffering Country shall tear me from this Gentleness of Disposition; yet shall I so order it beyond what is even to be hoped for in a Rebellion, so far spread, and so artfully covered, that no worthy Man shall fall, and the Punishment of a few shall place you above all Dread or Danger.

These Things, O Romans! I promise you, not relying on my own Prudence, or human Policy, but repeated, infallible Intimations of the Immortal Gods. Their Protection gives me this Hope, and their Presence inspires me with this Resolution. These Gods, I say, no longer at a distance, as when attacked by a foreign and a remote Enemy, but here in their own Persons, by their immeditate Power and Providence, defend their own Temples, and the Habitations of Rome; and you, my Countrymen, ought to put up your Prayers, your Vows and Supplications, that they will defend this City, which they have endued with

64 CICERO'S ORATION, &c. with supreme Power, Majesty, and Strength, from the unnatural Guilt of her degenerate Sons, after having subdued all her Enemies by Sea and Land.



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ARGUMENT.

THE Conspiracy baving been detected, Cicero summoned an Assembly of the Roman People, and in the following Oration laid before them the Particulars of the Discovery; and exhorts them to celebrate a Thanksgiving to the Gods, which had been decreed by the Senate, in his Honour, for the Preservation of Rome and her Citizens.

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M. T.

CICERO's

THIRD

ORATION

AGAINST

CATILINE.



O Day you behold, O Romans!
your Country, your Lives, your
Liberties, your Properties, your
Wives and Children, this august

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Seat of Empire, this fair, this flourishing City, preserved and restored to you, by the distinguishing Love of the Immortal Gods, ever watchful for your Welfare; and by Means of my Toils, my Counsels, my Dangers, rescued from

from Fire and Sword; nay, let me add, out of the Jaws of impending Fate.

AND if the Days of our Preservation are equally joyous, equally diftinguished, as those of our Birth; because the Pleasure of Deliverance is certain, but the Condition of Life precarious; on our Deliverance we reflect with Delight; in our Birth we exist without Consciousness; believe me, since our Gratitude and Veneration has made the Name of the Founder of Rome immortal as the Gods; the Man who faved the same City, with all its Accessions of Strength and Wealth, ought by you and your Posterity to be revered: For by me were those Flames, that were ready to inwrap the Temples, the Domes, the Dwellings, and the Walls of this City, extinguished; by me, was the Dagger, when pointed at the Bosom of your Country, blunted; and the Weapons aimed at your Throats, were by me All these Circumstances, as they averted. have already been explained, laid open, and proved by me before the Senate, I will now, Romans, in a few Words, express to you, that you may be no longer, as hitherto, at a Loss to comprehend how important, and how evident they are, by what Means traced out, and in what Manner discovered.

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In the first Place, ever fince Catiline, a few Days ago, broke out of the City, and had left the Accomplices of his Treason, with the boldest Ringleaders of this Rebellion at Rome; the End of all my Vigilance, of all my Care, has been, how we might be best secured from fuch Variety of Danger, from fuch a Mine of Mischief; for when I threw Catiline out of Rome, (for I now dread no Reproach from that Word; all I have now to fear is, from his being suffered to depart alive,) as I aimed at pulling his Conspiracy up by the Roots, I was in Hopes, that he would either be followed by the rest of his Associate Crew; or that they who remained, must be disabled and disconcerted through his Absence. And as I perceived, that the most bold and bloody of all the Conspiracy remained here with us and within Rome; my painful Endeavours by Day and Night were, that I might come at the Knowledge, the Proof of their Intentions and Actions: That fince you could not reconcile the Enormity of their Guilt to your Belief, and therefore were inclined to distrust what I said, I might dispose Matters in such a Manner, as to unite you all in the Means of your Safety, by proving to your strongest Conviction, the Imminence

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minence of your Danger. As foon, therefore, as I found that Publius Lentulus had been tampering with the Commissioners of the Allobroges in order to kindle a War beyond the Alps, and create Commotions in Gaul, and that they had been sent to their Countrymen with a Commission to communicate on the Road their Credentials and Instructions to Catiline; that Vulturcius was sent to attend them, and that they had likewise entrusted him with

This Lentulus had been Prator and Conful before this Time, but was expelled the Senate by the Confors. To recover the Senatorian Dignity, he was obliged to put in for being Prator a second Time, during which Pratorship, he was put to Death

for this Conspiracy.

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These were Gauls, who passing the Alps, settled on the Italian Side, in those Parts now called Savoy and Piedmont. They were a brave People, and maintained a War with the Romans for a long Time; but before this had been totally subdued, and governed by the Roman Prator, who had the Care of Gallia Narbonensis. About the Time of the breaking out of this Conspiracy, they had fent Embassadors to Rome, to complain of the Oppression and Extortion of their Governor. Lentulus took this Opportunity of increasing the Strength of the Conspiracy, by promifing the Allobroges an Abatement of their Taxes, if they would rife in Favour of Catiline, and affift him with their rorces. The Embassador after some Deliberation, resolved to discoverthe Affair to 2. Fabius Sanga, their Patron at Rome, who immediately disclosed it to Cicero. The Consul advised them to agree with the Conspirators, and get a Covenant from them figned by the principal Men, to carry home to their Constituents. This the Conspirators consent to, and at the same Time desire to take Catiline's Camp in their Way; for which Purpose they fend one of their Party Vultureius, along with them, with Letters to their General. Cicero getting Notice of this from the Embassadors, took the whole Party Prisoners upon the Road, and by this Means had full Proof against Lentulus, and the other Heads of the Plot, whom he immediately feized.

70 CICERO'S ORATION

Letters for Catiline, I thought I had now a fair Opportunity of giving the most entire Satisfaction to myself, to the Senate, and to you, with regard to this Conspiracy, a Matter of the utmost Difficulty, and the frequent Subject of my fervent Prayers to the Immortal Gods.

YESTERDAY, therefore, I fent for the Prætors. Lucius Flaccus and Caius Pomtinus, Men of great Courage, and true Patriotism. To them I discovered the Affair, and signified my Commands. 'They, as all their Sentiments for their Country are all noble and generous, without Doubt or Delay undertook the Bufiness; and about the Evening, privately repaired towards the Milvan Bridge 4; where they fo disposed of themselves in the neighbouring Farms, that the Tyber and the Bridge lay betwixt them. These likewise drew together to the same Ground a great many brave Men, unfuspected by any; and I dispatched from the Prefecture of Reate, a Number of chosen

Years after, made the Cration for Elaccus; in which he mentions this Piece of Service to the Roman State. We know nothing of the other, but what is here mentioned.

This was a Bridge over the Tyber about two Miles from Rome, on the Road to Tuscany.

The Prefectures were such Towns as had Markets every ninth Day, and Asizes held there by Presects sent annually from Rome.

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chosen Youths armed with Swords, whose Affistance I never fail to make use of in the public Service. In the mean Time, the third Watch being almost spent, the Commissioners of the Allobroges, with Vulturcius began to enter upon the Bridge, with a great Retinue, where our Band attacked them; both Parties drew their Swords; the Prætors alone were in the Secret, the others were not. Then upon the coming up of Pomtinus and Flaccus, the Skirmish ended; and all the Letters they had among them were delivered up, fealed as they were, to the Prætors; and their own Persons being feized, they were all of them brought before me, towards the Dawn of Day. I summoned before me Cimber Gabinius, that Arch-Plotter in all their wicked Conspiracies, without his suspecting how Matters went. Lucius Statilius was then brought in; then Cerbegus; and then came Lentulus, but a long Time after, because I suppose, the Night before, he had fat up unufually late in making out the Dispatches.

WHEN

The Romans divided the Night into four Watches, beginning at Sun-setting, and ending at Sun-rising, so that the third Watch began exactly at Midnight, and ended about three in the Morning, supposing the Sun to rise at six.

WHEN many of the greatest and most confiderable Men in Rome, upon hearing the News, came to me in the Morning, they were of Opinion, that I should open the Letters, before I communicated them to the Senate, left, if nothing was found in them, I should be blamed for too rashly giving so great an Alarm to the City. This I refused to comply with; because as the Danger was public, fo the Deliberation upon the Affair, untouched as it was, ought to be public likewife. For I confidered, that even though it should appear, I was misinformed, I had no Reason to dread any Reslections for my Overdiligence in Matters that bore so dangerous an Aspect to the State. I then speedily summoned, as you faw, a full House of the Senate: In the mean Time, by a Hint from the Allobroges. I dispatched that brave Prætor, Caius Sulpitius. to remove any Arms, that might be in the House of Cethegus, from whence he accordingly carried a very great Number of Swords and Daggers.

I brought in Vulturcius, without the Gauls, before the Senate, and by their Commands, to him I plighted the public Faith, exhorting him, without Fear or Reserve, to speak out

all he knew. Scarce was he recovered from his Fright, when he declared, that he had Infructions and Letters from Lentulus to Catiline, advising him to arm the Slaves, and march directly up to the City with his Army, with this View, that when they had fet Fire to every Quarter of the City, in their feveral Stations and Posts, as they had been assigned and planned, and entered upon the general Maffacre, he might be upon the Spot, to cut off those who should endeavour to fly, and to act in Conjunction with these City-Commanders.

AND then the Gauls being brought in, declared, that an Oath had been plighted to themselves, and Letters given them to be communicated to their Constituents, by Publius Lentulus, Cerbegus, and Statilius, and that they had it in Commission from them, and Lucius Cassius, instantly to dispatch their Cavalry into Italy, they being in no want of Foot; that Lentulus had affured them from the Sibylline Predictions, and the Answers of the Sooth-fayers, of his being infallibly the Third of the Name of Cornelius, who was destined to be the Sovereign and Commander of this City; that the Prediction was already fo far fulfilled

fulfilled in the Persons of Sylla and Cinna, both of that Name; that he farther declared, this Year being the Tenth from the Acquittal of the Vestal Virgins, and the Twentieth from the Burning of the Capitol, was to be the critical Period for the Destruction of this City and Empire. They added to this Evidence, that there was a Dispute betwixt Cethegus, and the other Conspirators; because some, with Lentulus, were of Opinion, that the Massacre, and the Burning of the City, should be fixed on the Saturnalia, which, in Cethegus's Opinion, was too late.

AT last, Romans, to be as short as possible, I ordered the Letters, which each of them were said to write, to be produced. In the first Place, I shewed to Cethegus, his own Seal; he owned it to be his; I cut the Thread '; I read. There was it wrote with his own Hand, "That he would act by the Senate and the People of the Allobroges, as he had promised to their Commissioners; intreating "them

Before the Regulation of the Roman Calendar, the Feaft in Honour of Saturn was celebrated about the 16th of December.

The Romans rolled up their Letters, and then tied them with a Thread, on the Knot of which they put their Seal, which was the diftinguishing Mark to know from whom the Letters came.

" them to perform whatever their Com-" missioners should lay before them." Then Cetbegus, who a little before had pretended to excuse himself on account of the Swords and Daggers found at his House, by saying, that he had been ever curious about Blades of good Metal, upon hearing the Letters read, appeared difmayed, confounded, felf-convicted, and of a sudden was struck dumb. Statilius was then brought in; he owned his Hand and Seal; his Letters, almost to the same Purpose as the others, were read to him, he confessed all. I then shewed to Lentulus his own Letters, and demanded if he knew the Seal. He seemed to own that he did. "Right! " faid I; the Seal is well known; it " is the Head of your illustrious Grandfather ; whose sole Passion was the Love of his Country, and his Countrymen; " the very Sight methinks of fuch a Head, " ought to have deterred you from the Perpe-" tration of fuch enormous Guilt." His Letter, to the same Purpose, to the Senate, and People of the Allobroges, was read. I indulged

L. Cornelius Lentulus Rufus, Conful in the Year of Rome

Orig. Tue fibi Legati corum recepissent: It may either fignify as I have translated it, or that they should perform what their Commissioners had undertaken in their Behalf.

dulged him in faying what he had a Mind on that Subject. At first, indeed, he stood on his Innocence: but foon after, the whole Information being opened and declared, he rose up; he demanded of the Gauls, what Bufiness he had with them to bring them to his House, and he put the same Question to Vulturcius. When they answered him in short and unvarying Terms; by whose Means, and bow often they had been at his House, and demanded of him in their Turn, whether he had talked nothing to them about the Sibylline Predictions: Then distracted with Guilt, he gave a sudden Proof how powerful Conscience is. For though he might have braved it out, yet, contrary to what every Body thought, he at once confessed it. Thus, not only his ready Wit and voluble Tongue, for which he was always remarkable, but even his Impudence and Audacity, in which he has been ever unrivalled, yielded to the Force of confounded and convicted Guilt.

But Vulturcius of a sudden demands that the Letters, delivered to him from Lentulus to Catiline, should be produced and opened. Here, though Lentulus was struck with the utmost Consusion, yet did he own his Hand

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and Seal: The Letters however were wrote without any Subscription, in the following Terms; Who I AM, YOU WILL LEARN FROM THE BEARER; BE SURE THAT YOU ACT LIKE A MAN; REFLECT TO WHAT A PASS YOU ARE NOW ADVANCED; CONSIDER WHAT IS NECESSARY FOR YOU TO DO, AND TAKE CARE TO STRENGTHEN YOURSELF WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF ALL, EVEN THE MEANEST.

Lean recollect, lay before you the Reiblioti

GABINIUS was next brought in, and though he at first answered with great Impudence, yet in the Event he denied none of the Circumstances urged against him by the Gauls. And to me, O Romans! though the Letters, Seals, Hands, and lastly, their several Confessions. were strong and convincing Evidences of their Guilt: yet were these Evidences rendered still more strong by their Looks, their Air, their Countenances, and their Silence. For with fuch Astonishment were they struck, so strongly were their Eyes riveted to the Ground, and with fuch guilty Consciousness did they sometimes steal a Look of one another, that they did not now look like Men informed against by others, but betrayed by themselves.

THE Informations, O Romans! being laid open and declared, I put the Question to the Senate, what they thought proper to be done, at a Juncture so critical to the very being of the State. The Voices of the leading Men were for severe and resolute Measures; these the Senate agreed to without the least Amendment. And as their Determination is not yet engrossed, I shall, my Countrymen, as well as I can recollect, lay before you the Resolutions of the Senate.

In the first Place, I had the Thanks of the House in the strongest Terms for having delivered the State from the most imminent Dangers, by my Courage, my Conduct, and Forefight. Then the Prætors, Lucius Flaccus and Caius Pomtinus, had their just and merited Share of Praise, for having so bravely and saithfully executed what I had given them in Charge; nor was any brave Colleague. for-

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The Decrees of the Senate were hung up in the Temple of Saturn, where the People might read them, they were then engroffed into the Body of their Laws.

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m C. Antonius, who was suspected of favouring Catiline's Party, because he was very much in Debt, and personally acquainted with Catiline. However, Cicero had gained him over, by giving him the Command of the Armies, which gave him an Opportanity of making Money, and contented himself with the Go-

got in the Thanks of the Order; for removing from his own and the public Councils, the Accomplices in this Confpiracy. They then came to a Resolution, that Publius Lentulus, after having divested himself of the Prætorship, should be delivered into Custody. The like Sentence was passed upon Caius Cethegus, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinius, who were all present; the like upon Lucius Cassius, who had sollicited the Commission of firing the City; upon Marcus Cæparius, to whom, as it appeared, Apulia was allotted for raising the Shepherds; upon Publius Furius, one of the

ment of Rome; whereas usually the Consuls drew Lots to know who of them should command abroad, and who at home.

Debate. But this I submit.

o The Prætors were originally elected to affift the Confuls, and to be chief Judges in the City, when the Confuls should be both abroad with the Armies. At first there was only one; afterwards, as the Empire encreased, there were four, fix, and sometimes eight chosen annually. One was called Prater Urbanas, whose Business was to hear all Causes in the City. The others were sent by the Consuls, or by the People, to different Parts of the Empire, where the Consuls could not go in Person. After the Expiration of their Office, they were named Governors of some Province for a Year or more, as the People thought fit.

They were at first only committed to private Houses under the Care of some trusty Senator, who was answerable for his Prisoner.

a Cassius, Caparius, and the others after mentioned, were condemned in their Absence, they having escaped before the Consul could apprehend them. But Caparius was overtaken in his Flight, and committed.

Planters, whom Lucius Sylla had settled as Fæsulæ; upon Quintus Manlius Chilo, who was joined with the same Furius, in all Applications made to the Allobroges; against Publius Umbrenus, the Son of a Freed-Man, and who it was proved, first introduced the Gauls to Gabinius.

Now the Senate, O Romans! proceeded with this Lenity upon the Supposition, that the Republic being preserved from so dangerous a Conspiracy, from such Strength, and fuch Numbers of inbred Enemies, by the Punishment of only nine desperate Men, the Minds of others might be cured. And further, my Countrymen, upon my Account a folemn Thanksgiving to the Immortal Gods for their remarkable Favours, was decreed: The first Instance, fince the Building of Rome, of fuch an Honour being done to one who acted without laying aside the Robes of Peace. And their Decree was in the following Terms: Because I had delivered the City from the Flames, the Citizens from Slaughter, and Italy from War. An Honour, my Countrymen, which, if compared with others of the same Kind, this Difference will be found, that theirs were decreed for their successfully serving, mine for happily

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happily faving, the State. That which required our first Cares, was first dispatched and executed. For Publius Lentulus, though upon the Information being proved, and his own Confession, the Senate had adjudged him to have forseited not only the Authority of a Prætor, but the Privileges of a Citizen, divested himself of his Magistracy; that we might not entertain the least Scruple, in punishing a Roman Magistrate, in the Person of a private Man, a Point to which the illustrious C. Marius had no Regard, when he put to Death the Prætor Caius Glaucia, and gainst whom nothing had been expressly decreed.

Now, O Romans! as you have in Custody and Prison the unnatural Leaders of this detestable and dangerous Rebellion, you ought to conclude that all the Forces of Catiline, that all his Strength and hopes, these Dangers of your Country being thus averted, have failed, Indeed, Romans, when I drove him from the City, this I foresaw, that when Catiline was removed, I had no reason to be asraid of the dreaming Lentulus, the corpulent Cassius, nor the suriously rash Cetbegus. Catiline, of all Vol. II.

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³ Or Glaucias,

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the Cabal, was formidable; but no longer than while he remained within the Walls of this City. He knew every thing; he had Access to every Body; he had both Abilities and Boldness to accost, to tempt, and to sollicite; he had a Head turned for any Undertaking, and a Tongue and Hand proper to Support what his Head projected. For performing certain Enterprizes, he had certain and selected Agents: nor did he ever think that his bare Commands could carry any thing into complete Execution. There was nothing too hard for his Activity, for his Vigilance or Fatigue; Hunger, Thirst, and Cold, he could undergo. Had I not driven a Man so keen, so ready, so bold, so crafty, in Treason so vigilant, in desperate Circumstances so active, from Conspiracy within these Walls into Rebellion in the Fields, let me speak, O Romans! as I think, it had not been easy to repel fuch a Weight of Woe from falling on your Heads. He would not have fixed the Saturnalia, as the Æra of our Destruction, nor have fo fong beforehand determined the very Date of Perdition and Ruin to this State; nor have ordered Matters fo, that when it came to the Push, his own Seal and Letters, any living Witnesses, should be seized as Evidences

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dences of his detected Treason. Yet in his Absence, has all this been effected, and in such a Manner too, as that never was any domestic Felony so plainly detected, as this important Conspiracy against the Public has been detected and exposed. But if Catiline had remained in the City till this Day, in such a Case, though I had still prevented and disconcerted all his Plots, yet still at last, to speak the least, must we have come to Blows, and while such a Bosom Traitor remained within our Walls, never could we have delivered the Government from such threatning Dangers, with so much Peace, so much Tranquility, and so much Quiet.

But all these Transactions, my Countrymen, were managed by me in such a Manner, that they seemed to be directed by the Will, and conducted by the Wisdom of the Immortal Gods. This we may conjecture, as well from the apparent Impossibility of such amazing Events being brought about by human Foresight, as from their immediate, and almost visible Aid and Assistance, in the late critical Conjunctures. For to say nothing of those nocturnal Essugences, which beamed

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The Romans were extremely superstitious in observing Omens and Presages, which were always interpreted by their Priests and Augurs.

in the West, and the Heavens appearing all in a Blaze; to pass over the Thundering and Earthquakes, with the other many Prodigies which have happened in our Consulate, which seemed like the Language of the Gods predicting what has now happened, This, O Romans! which I am now to mention, ought neither to be omitted nor postponed.

Surely you may remember, that under the Consulate of Cotta and Torquatus, a great Number of Turrets in the Capitol were struck by Lightning; that the Images of the Immortal Gods were likewise overthrown, the Statues of antient Romans overturned, and the brazen Tables of the Laws melted down; even Romulus, the Founder of this City, was scorched; that guilded Statue, which you may rememember to have seen in the Capitol, representing him an Infant, sucking, and reaching at the Dugs of the She-Wolf. At that Time the Sooth-sayers from all Tuscany were assembled, and declared that Massacres

Augars. Of this the Nobility were fo sensible, that they kept all the different Offices of the Priesthood in their own Body, even after the Plebeians were admitted to the Consulship. All these Omens were explained so as to answer the Purposes of the Senate.

This Statue is still preserved in the modern Capitol at Rome, with the Mark of the Lightning visible upon it.

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and Burnings, the Extinction of the Laws, a War Civil and Domestic, with the Fall of this City and her Empire, were at her Hand, unless the Gods, appealed by all the Means of Devotion, should interpose their Providence to bend in some Measure, the Destinies themselves. Upon their Answer, Plays were celebrated for ten Days, nor was any Method of appealing the Gods, omitted. The fame Sooth-fayers ordered a larger Statue of Jupiter to be erected on a conspicuous Place; and, contrary to its former Posture, to face the East. They likewife declared, that they hoped, if that Statue, as you now behold it, should at once face the rifing Sun, the Forum, and this Senate-House, the Treasons privately hatched against the Welfare of this City and Empire, should be rendered so conspicuous, as to be seen through by the Senate, and the People of Rome. then Consuls therefore ordered the Statue to be erected in the Manner prescribed; but so slowly did the Work go forward, that it was not erected either by our Predecessors in Office, or by ourselves, before this Day.

CAN there now, O Romans! live a Man fo forfaken of Truth, of fuch confirmed Obstinacy, of fuch mental Blindness, as to affirm,

that all we fee, and especially this City, is not under the immediate Guidance and Government of the Immortal Gods. For when the Sooth-fayers thus by their Answers pronounced that Maffacres, Burnings, the Ruin of this State, were then devising, and all by Means of her unnatural Citizens, the Enormity of Guilt rendered the Prediction to fome incredis ble; yet you perceive that all this has been by flagitious Citizens, not only devised, but attempted. Have we not before our Eyes an Instance, which seems to have been effected by the Direction of love the BEST and GREATESTA in that, when by my Commands the Confpirators, and the Informers against them, were this Morning led through the Forum, into the Temple of Concord, at that very Instant this Statue was erecting! Upon its being erected. upon its being made to face you and the Senate; to you and the Senate, every traiterous Defign against the public Safety was instantly detected and exposed. They therefore are worthy of the greater Degree, both of Deteftation and Punishment, who endeavoured to wrap in fatal and impious Flames, not only your Habitations and Roofs, but even the Temples and Fanes of the immortal Gods; and Presumption, intolerable Presumption, were it in

in me to affirm, that through Me their Purposes were deseated. No; it was that Jove, that Jove himself, who apposed them. To his Pleasure was it owing that the Capitol, to him that those Temples, to him that this City, to him that all of you are preserved. It was therefore, O Romans! the directing Providence of the immortal Gods, that inspired me with such Resolution and Foresight, and conducted me to these important, these convincing Discoveries.

Now as to this practifing on the Allobroges; had not the Immortal Gods deprived Lentulus, and our other domestic Enemies, of Prudence to direct their confummate Audacity; never would they so madly have committed to Strangers and Barbarians, Affairs of fuch Importance, nor, believe me, intrusted them with their Letters. For can it be supposed that Gauls, the Subjects of a disaffected State, a State, the only one which now feems to retain both the Abilities and Inclinations to make Way with Rome, would have flighted the Prospect of Independency, and the greatest Advantages, when voluntarily offered by Roman Patricians, or that they would have preferred our Preservation to their own Power? Can you

imagine, that this hath been effected without the Finger of Heaven; especially as they might have conquered us, not by handling their Arms, but by holding their Tongues?

THEREFORE, O Romans! fince a Thanksgiving is decreed before all the Shrines of the Gods, celebrate ye with your Wives and Children, those Days of your Deliverance: Many and merited are the Proofs of Gratitude, which we owe to the Immortal Gods; but furely never were they paid with greater Justice than now. From dismal, from detestable Ruin are you snatched, and snatched without Slaughter, without Blood, without an Army, without a Skirmish. In your peaceful Robes, under me, in my peaceful Robes, your fole Conductor and Commander, have you obtained Victory. For, O my Romans! call to mind all your civil Disputes, not only those you have heard of, but those which you yourselves remember, and have seen. Lucius Sylia destroyed Publius Sulpitius . He threw

[&]quot; Sulpitius, Tribune of the People, in concert with Marius, got a Law past to take away from Sylla the Command of the Army designed for the Mithridatick War, and to give it to Marius. Upon this Sylla brought up his Army to Rome, overthrew Sulpitius, and proscribed twelve; and among them Marius and Sulpitius. Sulpitius was taken and put to Death, but Marius escaped to Africa.

out of the City Caius Marius", the Guardian of Rome", and partly drove out of this State, and partly put to Death, many brave Men. Cneius Octavius, the Conful, expelled with Arms his Colleague out of the City, while this Place was choaked with the Bodies and Blood of Citizens. Cinna with Marius then prevailed; and then was it that the very Lights of your Country were put out by the Deaths of her most illustrious Men. Sylla afterwards avenged himself of this cruel Victory, needless it is for me to relate with what Diminution of our Citizens, with what Calamity to our Country. Marcus Lepidus had a Difference with the brave and the illustrious Quintus Catulus, which ended in the Ruin of the for-

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w It would appear from this Passage, that Gicero was conscious how strong the Remains of Marius's Party were in Rome, and therefore pays that great Man this Compliment here.

^{*} He was so called, because he deseated the Cimbri and Teutones, who invaded Italy with an Army of several hundred thousand Men.

thousand Men.
Y Cinna endeavoured to restore Marius's Party, upon the Departure of Sylla, but was driven out of the City by his Colleague Octavius.

² Cinna gathered an Army, and with Marius, Sertorius, and Carbo, entered Rome, and murdered or proscribed all the Senators and Nobles of Sylla's Party.

^a He is faid to put to Death ninety Senators, of which fifteen had been Confuls, 2,600 Knights, and 70,000 Citizens, in cold

Blood; besides those slain in Battle.

b After the Death of Sylia, Marcus Emilius Lepidus endeavoured to restore the Party of Marius; and for this End, raised an Army in his Province of Gaul, advanced to Rome, and engaged 2. Catullus in the Campus Martius; but was deseated, and obliged to sly into Sardinia, where he died.

mer: nor was that so afflicting to the Publica as was the Ruin of others; yet, O Romans! all these Differences were of such a Nature, as tended not to an Abolition, but an Alteration of our Government. The Authors did not intend that no Government should exist, but that they themselves should be leading Men in that which should prevail; they defired not to fee Rome in Flames, but themselves powerful in Rome. Yet were all these Differences, of which none tended to an Extinction of the State, of such a Nature, that they were determined, not by an Accommodation of Interests, but by a Massacre of Citizens. But in this War, a War, the greatest and fiercest that any Age has known, such a War as even Barbarity itself never waged within its own Dominions, a War in which Lentulus, Catiline, Caffius, and Cethegus, made it a ruling Principle, that all who could reconcile their own Safety to that of the City, should be refused Quarter; in this War, O Romans ! I have fo behaved myself, that you are all preserved untouched. And though your Enemies imagined, that there should remain but just as many Romans as should survive unlimited Massacre, and as much of Rome, as should be unincircled by Flames; yet have I preferved

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ved your Persons and City still untouched and unharmed.

For these mighty Events, O Romans ! I demand of you no Reward of Virtue; no Badge of Distinction; no Monument of Glory; All I require is, the eternal Commemoration of this Day. In your Minds I defire that all my Triumphs, that all my Trophies of Glory, that all my Badges of Distinction, should be reared and deposited. Whatever is without Expression, whatever without Utterance, whatever of this Kind, in Mort, that can be compassed by Men of inferior Merit, has for me no Charms. In your Remembrance, O Romans! (hall my Actions be cherished, on your Tongues shall they grow, and on your Records shall they arrive at Age and Strength; and the same Day, if I am not deceived, which brought deliverance to this City, (which I hope will be eternal) shall transmit to all Posterity the Remembrance of my Confulate; and that at the same Period two Citizens lived under this Government, one who fixed the Limits of Your Empire not to the Extent

The Romans rewarded their Generals with Triumphs, Statues, and Sirnames taken from their Services: These Cicero difdains.

Pompey the Great, who at this Time was carrying on the War against the Arabians, and other Nations in the East,

of Earth, but of Heaven; and one who preserved the Habitation, and the Seat of that Empire.

BUT as the Fortune and Circumstances of my Actions are different from those of your Generals who conduct you foreign Wars, in as much as I must live with those whom I have conquered and subdued, while these leave their Enemies either dead or enthralled, it is your Bufiness. O Romans ! to take Care, that if the meritorious Actions of others are advantageous to them, mine may never prove detrimental to me. I have taken care that the guilty and flagitious Intentions of these presumptuous Wretches should not affect you; it is your Part to take care that they never may affect me. Yet, O my Countrymen! never can my Enemies hurt my Person. Strong is the Protection of the Good, a Protection of which I am for ever affured; great is my Dignity in the Republic, my continual and filent Defender; and great the Power of Conscience, which whoever shall slight, must betray themselves, while they attempt to injure me.

SUCH

^{*} Cicero saw plainly that there were many Nobleman who savoured the Party of Cariline, who might afterwards revenge the Deseat of their Scheme on Cicero. This afterwards happened, and Cicero was banished, but restored in a little Time to his former Honours.

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enhis SUCH a Spirit, O Romans! is likewise in me, that not only will I bear up against all the Attempts of Audacity, but even provoke and attack all the Profligate themselves. But if the whole Force of domestic Enemies, when repelled from you, shall be pointed against my single Person, it must belong to you, O Romans! to reslect, upon what Terms you put those, who for the future shall for your Preservation expose themselves to Malignity and Danger of every Kind.

As for myself, what can I further acquire towards the Enjoyment of Life, especially as I fee no higher Step of Promotion either in Dignity flowing from you, or in Glory derived from Virtue; at least, none that I should wish to ascend. This, O Romans ! will I certainly effect: In my private Capacity, I will protect and grace whatever I have acted in my Confular; that if Malice is incurred from preserving the State, it may prove hurtful to the Malicious, but conducive to my Glory. In short, I shall behave so in the Republic, as ever to keep in Memory my past Actions, and to take Care that they may appear, not the Effects of Chance, but of Virtue. You, O my Countrymen! fince

fince it is now Night, worship that Jove who is the Guardian of you and this City; retire to your Dwellings; and though the Danger is now repelled, yet set the same Watch and Ward over your Houses this Night, as you did the last: That you may have no Occasion to do it longer, but be able hereafter to live in uninterrupted Peace, I, my good Countrymen, will take Care.



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ARGUMENT.

THE following Speech was pronounced in the Senate, upon the Debate about the Punishment proper to be inflicted on the Conspirators. Some of the Senators, particularly Casas, were of Opinion, that they ought to be confined to perpetual Imprisonment in the Municipal Cities; others, at the Head of whom was Silanus, were for putting them immediately to Death. Though the last Opinion was most agreeable to Tully, he does not in the following Oration declare for it; but leaves the Decision entirely to the Senate, after setting forth the Enormity of the Conspirators, which he does with great Acrimony and Art.

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M: T.

GICERO's

FOURTH

ORATION

AGAINST

CATILINE.



Perceive, Fathers Conscript, that every look is turned, that every Eye is fixed upon me. I perceive that you are anxious, not only about the Dangers that threaten

yourselves, and your Country, but were these repelled, for those that may affect me. This kind Concern in Calamity is pleasing, and in Sorrow obliging: But by the Immortal Gods, I conjure Pr Fa the

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preservation, to study that of yourselves and Families. For my own Part, could I enjoy the Consulate, only upon the Terms of my being subjected to Cruelty, Pain, and Anguish of every kind, I would bear them, not with Courage only, but with Pleasure, provided that from these my Sufferings, you and the People of Rome were to derive Dignity and Security.

I, FATHERS Conscript, am that Consul to whom the Forum, that Center of all Equity; to whom the Field hallowed by confular Aufpices; to whom the Senate-House, the highest Tribunal of Relief to all Nations; to whom domestic Walls, the Shelter of all besides; to whom not even the Couch fet apart for Repose; nay not this Seat of Dignity, nor this Chair of State, have been free from Treachery, and the Perils of Death. Much have I concealed; much have I born; much have I yielded; and much, with my own Pain, have I healed, while you trembled for the Event. Now if the Immortal Gods would grant this to be the Issue of my Consulship, that I should fnatch you, Fathers Conscript, and the People of Rome, from difmal Massacre; your Wives, Vol. II.

your Children, and the Vestal Virgins, from outrageous Persecution; our Temples and Altars, with this our lovely Country, from execrable Flames; and all Italy from War and Defolation, let me be fingled out to fuffer whatever Fate shall inslict; for if Publius Lentulus, deluded by Fortune-tellers , thought that his Name was ominous to the Destruction of this State, why may not I rejoice that my Confulship has, in a great Measure, been decreed by Fate for its Preservation.

THEREFORE, Fathers Conscript, think on yourselves; provide for your Country; preserve your Order, your Wives, your Children, your Fortunes; protect the Majesty and the Lives of the People of Rome; but forbear your Tenderness and Concern for me. For.

a See p. 73. l. 23.

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b The Romans very seldom condemned any free Citizen to Death. They were often allowed to go into Banishment, which was reckoned a Sort of Death, as it deprived them of all their Privileges. The Confuls or Dictators, and sometimes private Men, flew the Ringleaders of a Tumult; but it was only winked at, as a Thing necessary on some Emergencies, rather than lawful. Every free Citizen had the Liberty of an Appeal from the Senate to the People. Gicero very well knew, that all the Odium of putting the Conspirators to Death, would certainly fall upon him, as he was Conful, and the most active Person in quelling the Conspiracy. For this Reason he avoids declaring himself openly for Silanus's Opinion, but at the same Time desires them to deliver their Opinions freely, without having any Regard to what might befall him afterwards. For every Act of the Se-

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in the first Place, I have Grounds to hope, that all the Gods, the Guardians of this City. will requite me according to my Deferts. Then should any thing happen, with Refignation and Resolution am I prepared to die; for to the Brave, Death can never be dishohourable; to the Confular untimely; nor, to the Wife, afflicting. Not that I am so steel'd as to be unmoved by the Grief of this my dear and affectionate Brother', and the Tears of the worthy Persons whom you see here present to furround me. Let me own too that a dispirited Wife; a Daughter dismayed with her Fears; and an Infant-Son; whom I imagine my Country now embraces as the Pledge of my Conduct; this my Son-in-Law 4, whom I see waiting the Event of this Day, often recalls my Mind to domestic Endearments. Still these Objects give me Concern; but a Concern how they and you may be preserved, even though I were taken off by Violence,

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hate, or People, was always ascribed to that Person who summoned the Assembly; as he alone presided, and put the Question: So that the Odium of putting the Conspirators to Death, though voted by the Senate, would as certainly fall upon Gicero, as if he had done it without their Advice. This really was the Case, and he was afterwards banished for passing this very Decree.

^{2.} Cicero, a very brave Man, and good Soldier.

d C. Calpurnius Pifo was at this Time married to Tullia, Ci-

rather than that we all should be involved in a general Wreck of our Country.

WHEREFORE, Fathers Conscript, ply to the Safety of the State; keep a Look-out to every impending Storm, which, but for your Vigilance, must overtake you. It is not a Tiberius Gracchus, who again aspires to the Tribuneship of the People; nor a Caius Gracchus, the Incendiary, for an Agrarian Law; nor a Lucius Saturninus, the Murderer of Caius Memnius, who is now brought into Judgment, and to the Bar of your Justice. No; the Prisoners in your Custody are those who remained at Rome to fire the City, to flaughter every Senator here, and to receive Catiline. Letters, their Seals, their Hands, in short, their feveral Confessions, are in our Custody: The Allobroges are tempted, Slaves spirited-up, Catiline fent for. The End they proposed was, that after a general Massacre, not a Soul should remain to bewail the Extinguished Glory of Rome, or to weep over the Ruins of this mighty Empire.

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At first Catiline rejected the Slaves, trusting to the Strength of the Conspirators; but finding his Army increase slowly, he invited the Slaves to join with him, by promising them Liberty and Plunder.

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ALL this the Informers have discovered; the Prisoners have confessed; and you by repeated Resolutions, have declared to be true. In the first place, as you returned me Thanks in distinguishing Terms, and declared that, through my Virtue and Activity, the Conspiracy of these desperate Wretches had been laid open. In the next place, as you forced Publius Lentulus to abdicate the Prætorship: Then as you came to a Resolution, that he, and the other Conspirators, whom you had tried, should be delivered into Custody; and, chiefly, as on my Account you appointed a Thanksgiving, an Honour that never was before paid to any of the long Robe. Lastly, Yesterday you bestowed large Gratuities upon the Commissioners of the Allobroges, and Titus Vulturcius; all which Circumstances are such. as to make it appear, that you have condemned, without Hesitation, the Persons whom you have thus expressly committed to Prison.

But, Fathers Conscript, I purpose to open the whole Matter a new; for your Sentiments upon the Fact itself, and for your Resolutions upon the Punishment that ought to attend it. Yet I must premise what I think it my Duty

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to fay as a Conful: Long had I observed a ftrong Spirit of Diforder working; with certain dangerous Innovations mingling and fermenting in the State; but never did I imagine that so great, so destructive a Conspiracy was forming by her Subjects. Now, whatever in your Sentiments you shall incline to, whatever in your Voices you shall decree, before Night, you must come to a final Resolution. How detestable a Crime is laid before you, yourfelves fee; if you think that but a few are acceffary to its Guilt, greatly are you mistaken. The Poison reaches farther than you imagine; it is spread not only through Italy, but has even paffed the Alps, and imperceptibly creeping along, has tainted many Provinces. Forbearance and Delay can never crush it: Whatever Resolution you come to, you must speedily execute.

I PERCEIVE as yet but two Opinions; the one of Decius Silanus, who delivers it as his Sense, that whoever has endeavoured to abolish this glorious State, ought to be punished with Death: The other of Caius Casar', who

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Cafar proposed perpetual Imprisonment in the Free Towns of Italy: His Speech is extant, or at least the Substance of it, in Sallust. This, with his former Behaviour, made him be looked upon as a Well-wisher to the Conspiracy; so that the Knights, who kept Guard round the Senate House, threatened to kill him,

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leaves out the Pains of Death, but comprehends all the severest Penalties of every other Censure. Both agreeable to their own Dignity, and the Importance of the Cause, turn upon the utmost Severity. The former is of Opinion, that they who endeavoured to deprive this Order, and the Roman People of Life; who endeavoured to aboliff this Empire, and to extinguish the Glories of Rome, are unworthy to enjoy a Moment's Respite from Death, or breathe this vital Air. He proves, from Precedents, that this was a Punishment often inflicted, in this State, upon her unnatural Subjects. The Sense of the latter is, that Death was not appointed by the Immortal Gods as a Penalty; but that it is rather the inseparable Condition of our Nature, or the Ceffation of our Toils and Troubles. Therefore. it is never declined by the Wife; and oftencourted by the Brave. But that Bonds, and those too perpetual, were at first undoubtedly invented as the proper, the diftinguishing Punishment of unnatural Guilt: Therefore he advises, that the Prisoners should be distributed

him, as he came out of the House; and some say, they would have done it, if Cicero had not protected him, and carried him home with him. Casar was so frightened at this, that he never came abroad till he entered upon his Office of Pratter the ensuring Year.

among the municipal Towns. This, were you to order it, implies an Injustice: If you require it, it must meet with Difficulty. Yet if it be the Sense of the House, let it be decreed; for I will undertake it; and I hope to find Cæsar the Man who shall think it no Reflection upon his own Dignity, to acquiesce in whatever you shall decree for the common Safety. Cæsar is for enacting a heavy Penalty against the municipal Cities, if any of the Criminals shall break out of their Prisons. He furrounds them with horrible Guards, and decrees against them, what is adequate to the Guilt of fuch profligate Wretches, that no Man shall ever have a Power to apply either to the Senate or the People, for a Mitigation to the Punishment of those he condemns. He deprives them even of Hope, that fole, that usual Consolation of the Wretched. Besides, he orders their Estates to be confiscated; and all he leaves to the abandoned Ruffians is Life. of which should he deprive them, by one momentary Pang, he would take away all the Anguish of their Souls, their Bodies, and their Crimes. Therefore, that some Restraint might be laid upon the Wicked in this Life, the Ancients have thought fit, that some such Punishments should be alloted to the Guilty in Hell, because

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because they were of Opinion, that without such a Belief, Death in itself was no great Object of Terror.

Now, Fathers Conscript, I can perceive how much it is for my Interest that you give into the Opinion of Caius Cæsar; because, as he has struck into that Path which leads to Popularity in the State, I shall perhaps have less Reason to dread the Insults of the People, as he both made and supported this Motion. As for the other Opinion. I am not sure but it may raise new Perplexities upon my Hands. But let the Service of the Republic supersede all Considerations of my Danger.

Caius Cæsar, agreeable to his own Character, and the Dignity of his illustrious Ancestors, has delivered to us an Opinion, which is, as it were, a lasting Pledge of his Affection to his Country, and a noble Instance of the Difference betwixt the affected Lenity of busy Declaimers, and a Mind truly popular, taking a Patriot Concern in the Preservation of the People. I can now perceive, that a certain Gentleman of those who affect Popularity, is now absent, because forsooth he is tender of yoting

We have no Light from History, who this Person was.

voting away the Life of Roman Citizens. Yet that very Member, but the other Day, committed Roman Citizens to Jail; voted a Thankf-giving for me; and Yesterday bestowed large Gratuities upon the Informers.

Now, who can be in doubt about the Sentiments, with regard to the whole of this Transaction and Business, of the Man, who has voted for Imprisonment to the Accused, Thanks to the Judge, and a Reward to the Informer.

But Caius Cæsar understands the Sempramian Law, to respect Roman Citizens only;
but that the Man, who is an Enemy to Rome,
can in no Sense be called a Roman Citizen. In
short, that the very Enactor of the Sempronian
Law, though uncondemned by the People, satissied the Rigour of his Country's Justice.
The same Member thinks that the profuse and
prodigal Lentulus, who had so often hatched
within himself the Destruction of the People

h This Law was proposed by C. Sempronius Graces, and had its Name from the Person who proposed it, as most other Laws had. It decreed, that no Roman Citizen, should be condemned to Death by any Judge, or even by the Senate, but only by the Assembly of the People: And frequently this Sentence of Death was allowed to be exchanged for Banishment, which the old Romans thought a sufficient Punishment for any Crime, how great soever.

and City of Rome, with every Circumstance, of Blood and Cruelty, cannot be called a Countryman. Therefore the meek and tender-hearted Gentleman, makes no Scruple in committing Publius Lentulus to eternal Darkness and Chains: And he enacts, that for the future no Man shall ever have it in his Power to vaunt of his having procured a Mitigation of this Doom, or to make himself popular to the Ruin of his Country. He likewise adds the Confication of their Goods, that thus Want and Beggary may attend every Torment of Body and Soul. Therefore, if ye follow his Opinion, ye will then give me a Companion to the Affembly, who is dear and agreeable to the Roman People'; or whether ye follow that of Silanus, ye will eafily clear both yourselves and me of the Charge of Cruelty; and I shall prove that it is by far the milder Course.

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After the Senate had decreed any Thing extraordina y, it was usual for the Person who proposed the Decree, or him who had the chief Hand in promoting it, to give an Account of the Affair to the People from the Rostrum, with a Desence of the Senate's Conduct. This was something more than Matter of meer Compliment, since the People could reverse any Decree of the Senate. Cicero therefore tells them, that if Casar's Opinion was followed, it would be of great Service to him, in getting such a Person as Casar to appear with him in the Assembly of the People; for Casar even at this Time was very popular, and was by his Largesses laying a Foundation for that Height of Power, to which he afterwards raised himself.

YET, Fathers Conscript, where can be the Cruelty of punishing such Monsters of Treafon? I judge of them according to my real Sense; for may I never, in conjunction with you, enjoy the Bleffing of my Country's Safety, if the Keenness which I shew in this Prosecution proceeds from any Bitterness of Spirit; for who can be milder than I? But from particular Tenderness and Compassion. For I have now before my Eyes this City, the Eye of the World, and the Refuge of Nations, of a fudden finking under the Flames. I figure in my Mind the Bodies of my hapless Countrymen lying in Heaps, unburied in my buried Country: I have now before my Eyes the Looks and Fury of Cethegus, revelling in your Blood. But when I figure to myself Lentulus on the Throne, which he confessed he was encouraged to hope for from the Fates; this Gabinius in a Purple Robe; and Catiline come with an Army, then am I ftruck with Horror at the Shrieks of our Matrons; the Flight of Boys and Maids; and the Rapes of Vestal Virgins. Now, as to me, these Calamities appear extremely shocking and deplorable, therefore I am extremely keen and rigorous in punishing those who endeavoured to bring them about. For let me put the Case, that a Master

of a Family had his Children butchered, his Wife murdered, his House burnt down by a Slave, yet did not inflict the most rigorous of Punishments imaginable upon that Slave; would fuch a Master appear merciful and compaffionate, and not rather a Monster of Cruelty and Inhumanity? To me that Man would appear to be of a flinty, cruel Nature, who should not endeavour to sooth his own Anguish and Torment, by the Anguish and Torment of its guilty Cause. Thus ought we to act by those Men who intended to murder Ourfelves, our Wives, our Children; who endeavoured to raze the Houses of every particular Roman, and to destroy this general Seat of Empire. Who conspired to settle the Allobroges k upon the Ruins of this City, and in the Ashes of our confumed Empire. By difcovering the keenest Resentment, we shall express the tenderest Compassion. But should we relent and retract, then must we be branded with

broges; they had only promised an Abatement, or perhaps a total Abolition of all their Taxes, provided they would assist their Conspirators with their Horse; in which they were reckoned to excel all other Nations. But Cicero, like a true Orator, represents every Thing in the blackest Light to inspire the Senators with revenge. Indeed it is hard to say, what might have been the Consequences of Catiline's obtaining a Victory, by the Assistance of the Gaulish Horse; or how far the Allobroges might have improved that Opportunity to the Ruin of both Parties.

with the Infamy of being exquisitely cruel, while the Destruction of our Country and our Countrymen is in Question.

As well may we suspect Lucius Cafar 's a Man of the greatest Courage and Patriotism, of Cruelty, when the other Day he declared, that the Husband of his Sister, a Lady of consummate Merit, even while he stood by, and heard him, ought to be put to Death; and strengthened it by this Argument, that his own Grandfather was put to Death by Command of the Conful; and that his Son ", though but a Stripling, being fent on a Message from the Father, was executed in Prison. In their Case is there any Parallel to this? Had they entered into a Conspiracy to destroy their Country? A Spirit of Corruption " was then indeed beginning to work in the State, and oppolite

Lucius Cafar was Uncle to C. Julius Cafar the Dictator, and Grandson of Marcus Fulvius Flaccus. [See Note on p. 7. 1. 9.] His Sister Julia, Widow of Marcus Antonius Criticus, was at this Time married to P. Lentulus the Conspirator.

The Tribunes of the People were endeavouring to ingross all the Power of the State, by pushing the Execution of the Agrarian Law.

m One of the Sons of Flaccus was fent by his Father as an Embassador to Opimius the Consul, to propose an Accommodation; but was sent back by Opimius, with severe Threatenings; if he should dare to return with any Proposal besides that of an immediate Surrender. The Son returning to the Consul with other Proposals, was seized, and, after the Defeat of his Party; was put to Death by the Consul's Orders, though but eighteen Years old.

posite Parties begun to be formed; and at that Time the Grandfather of this very Lientulus, an illustrious Patriot, in Arms attacked Grarchus; and to prevent the Majesty of the State from receiving the fmallest Mutilation, he received a cruel Wound. But Lentulus, to destroy the very Foundations of our Constitution. fent for the Gauls, stirred up the Slaves, invited Catiline, configned us to be butchered by Cethegus, the other Citizens to be murdered by Gabinius, the City to be burnt by Caffius, and all Italy to be desolated and plundered by Catiline. Can I then suppose that you will dread the Cenfure of decreeing with too much Severity, when the Circumstances of this Treafon are so monstrous and unnatural? When you have more Reason to dread, that by Lenity in punishing, we may be blamed as cruel towards our Country, too keen against its most implacable Enemies.

Bur, Fathers Conscript, I cannot diffemble what I hear. Some Discourse, which has reached my Ears, has been bandied about, among People who feem to fear that I have not Strength sufficient to put in Execution what you fhall this day decree. That every thing,

Fathers

Fathers Conscript, has been provided, prepared and fettled, is owing much to my indefatigable Care and Application; but more to the strong Inclination which the People of Rome discovered for retaining their Imperial Sovereignty, and preserving their common Interests. Every Man of every Rank, nay, of every Age, is now waiting without; the Forum is crowded; the Temples round the Forum are crowded; and all the Passages to this House are crowded. For fince the Building of this City, this is the only Case in which the Sentiments of the Public are unanimous and undivided, except of fuch as finding their own Ruin inevitable, chose rather to perish with all, than to fall by themselves. Those chearfully I exclude; those I separate from the rest; those I think are not to be ranked among the Number even of degenerated Citizens, but inveterate But, Immortal Gods! for the reft. in what Crowds, with what Zeal, with what Courage, do they unite in their Concern and Care of the public Welfare and Dignity! Why need I here to mention the Roman Knights? Who, though to you they yield the Precedency in Rank and Government. yet rival you in Love for their Country; whom.

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after a Difference of many Years, reconciled to a good Understanding and Unanimity with this Order, the present Juncture, and the present Dangers, now cements with you. A Conjunction, which strengthened under my Consulate, if we shall perpetuate in the State, be assured by me, that no civil or domestic Calamity shall ever hereaster affect any Part of this Constitution.

WITH equal Zeal in Defence of their Country, do I perceive the brave Tribunes of the Treasury to be affembled, together with all the Clerks, whom Chance had this Day fully affembled in the Treasury; and whom now I see not intent upon their private Interests, but upon the public Welfare. The Vol. II.

o The Sempronian Law had admitted the Judges to be chosen out of the Knights; but L. Sylla again restored it to the Senators only. Aurelius Costa, a few Years before this, had again admitted the Knights to this Privilege. This had occasioned a Difference between the two Orders for almost a Century: But in the Affair of Catiline, they were both agreed. N. B. Though we translate the Word Judices by Judges, yet it answers more nearly to our Jurors in the English Constitution; they being appointed by the Prator to examine the Circumstances of the Cause, to hear the Witnesses, and to pass Sentence only in the Words prescribed by the Prator. That is, the Prator declared, that the Indiament being proved, the Party should be punished in such a Manner: Then the Judices examined the Witnesses, and heard the Pleadings on both Sides, and afterwards condemned, or acquitted the Party.

P These were Officers under the Quastors, employed in receiving and distributing the public Money.

⁴ The old Scholiaft here observes, that the Clerks were assembled to divide among themselves the Offices for the ensuing Year,

whole Body of free-born Citizens, even the meanest, assists. For to whom among them are not these Temples, the Face of the City, the Enjoyment of Liberty, in short, this very Light, and this Parent Soil, not only dear, but delightful and charming.

IT is of Importance, Fathers Conscript, to observe the Zeal of those Freed Men, who having by their Merits purchased the Freedom of this City, look on this Country as their own; whereas fome born here, and born too to the most distinguished Honours, regard this not as their Country, but as a City in the Hands of their Enemies. But who do I mention those Men, and these Orders, whom private Interest, whom the general Good, whom, in short, Liberty, the dearest Object of Life. has roused to the Preservation of their Country. There is not a Slave, whose Condition of Life is not intolerable, who is not shocked at the Ruffian Boldness of our Countrymen; who does not wish these Walls to stand; and who will not contribute whatever he dares, whatever he can, to our Endeavours for the com-

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wiz. who should be Secretary to the Consuls, who to the Prætors, &c. This was annually done, and, like the other Offices at Rome, usually determined by Lot.—They seem to have been a Sort of incorporated Society.

mon Safety. Therefore if any of you are struck with a Report, that a certain infamous Tool of Lentulus runs from Shop to Shop, endeavouring to tempt and corrupt the Minds of the Needy and the Heedless; know that that indeed was begun and attempted: But none were found fo wretched in their Circumstances, so abandoned in their Inclinations, who did not prefer the quiet Enjoyment, some of their Stall and their Labours, and the Place where they earned their daily Bread; some of their Couch and humble Bed; and some, in short, of their peaceful course of Life: But the greatest Part of those who are Shopkeepers. nay, in reality, I may fay that whole Rank. loves Peace. For all their Manufactures, all their Works, all their Profit, are supported by the Populousness of the City, and nourished by Peace. If their Profits were diminished by their Shops being thut up, what must they be if burnt to the Ground? If the Case stands thus, as the Guard of the Roman People are not wanting to you, do you take care that your Protection do not appear to be wanting to them.

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r Some of his Clients endeavoured to raife a Mob, in order to fet Lentulus and his Fellows at Liberty; but were disappointed in their Endeavours by the Diligence of the Conful, and the Number of the Guards.

You have a Conful referved from many Dangers, from many Conspiracies, from the Jaws of Death itself; not on his own Account, but for your Preservation: All Orders unite in Opinion, in Defire, in Zeal, in Courage, and in Voice, to preserve the State. To you your Parent-Country, befet with the Brands and the Weapons of impious Conspiracy, as a Suppliant, stretches out her Hands: To you, she recommends herself: To you, the Lives of all her Sons: To you, the Tower and the Capitol: To you, her domestic Images': To you, that everlasting Fire of Vesta: To you, all the Temples and the Altars of the Gods: And to you, the Battlements and Roofs of this City. This Day besides you are to pass Judgment upon your own Lives; upon the Souls of your Wives and Children; upon the general Interests; upon your Houses and your Properties.

You have a Leader mindful of you, unmindful of himself; a Happiness not always to be met with. You have every Order, every a I

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The Romans superstitiously preserved some Images of their Penates, the Guardian Deities of their City, which were said to have been brought from Troy by Eneas; and particularly the sacred Fire, which was always kept burning by Priestesses appointed for that Purpose.

very Man, the whole Body of the Roman People, unanimous and united in their Sentiments; a Circumstance, which in a civil Case, before this Day, we never knew to happen. Think, think, O Romans! with what Toils that Empire was reared; on what Virtue that Liberty was founded; by what Munificence of the Gods those Interests were improved and heightened, which in one Night had almost been abolished. This Day are you to provide, that fuch Treason shall never again be executed; nay, not fo much as defigned by Citizens; and all this have I delivered to you, not to quicken you, for your Zeal has almost got the start of mine, but that my Voice, which ought to lead in Matters of Government', may appear to have discharged the Duty of a Consul.

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Now before I proceed, Fathers Conscript, in taking the Sense of the House, I must drop a Word with regard to myself: I perceive that I am now to encounter a Multitude of Enemies, equal to the Numbers of the Conspirators, which

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t It was the Consul's Business more immediately to provide for the Safety of the State, and to apply himself to this, and this alone, during his Year. Besides, Cicero had summoned this Meeting of the Senate, and it might be expected that he should give his Opinion concerning the Prisoners; but this he cautiously avoids doing in express Words, though it may easily be perceived which Way he inclined.

you see are very great; but these I judge to be scandalous and impotent, deserted and despi-But if ever, through the Guilt and Frenzy of any one, that Faction shall get the better of your and the public Dignity, 'yet never, Fathers Conscript, will I repent of what I have done, and of what I have devised. For Death, with which they may perhaps menace me, awaits for all; but that Pride of living ", with which I am dignified by your Decrees, has hitherto been equalled by none. To others have you decreed Thanksgiving for the fuccessful Management; but to me alone for the auspicious Preservation of the Republic: All Honour to Scipio", the Scipio, whose Counsels and Courage forced Hannibal to return to Africa, and to depart from Italy. May every diffinguished Glory await the Name of the Africanus who destroyed Numantia and Carthage, those two Cities, the inveterate Enemies of Roman Sway: For ever renowned be Lucius Paulus*, whose Chariot was graced by the Captivity of Perses, a once powerful and

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u i. e. No Man ever attained to such Honour as that to which you have raised me by your Decree.

This was Africanus the Elder, who, after driving the Carthaginians out of all Spain, invaded Africa, and obliged the Carthaginians to recal Hannibal out of Italy, where he had harraffed the Remans for fixteen Years.

^{*} He conquered Macedon, and led Perseus the King in

and glorious Monarch. May Marias enjoy immortal Honour, who twice delivered Italy from Invasion and the Dread of Slavery; but above all these, let Pompey be distinguished, whose Actions and Virtues are bounded by no other Climes or Limits, than those that regulate the Course of the Sun: Yet amidst all their Extent of Glory, some Corner must be reserved for my Renown, unless you suppose that there is more Merit in opening Provinces, to which we may retreat, than in taking care that our absent Countrymen may have a Place, to which they may return in Triumph.

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But in one Circumstance the Consequences of a foreign Victory are preferable to those of domestic, in as much as foreign Enemies, reduced by Arms, are submissive; if received upon Terms, have a grateful Sense of the Favour. But Citizens, who from stupid Degeneracy commence the Enemies of their Country, if you disappoint them of public Ruin, no Force can constrain, no Kindness can reconcile. I see therefore that I am to wage eternal War with desperate Citizens: A War, which I hope I shall easily repel from me and mine, through your and every worthy Man's Assistance, and from that Remembrance of so

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many Dangers which must cleave, not only to this delivered People, but to the Tongues and the Minds of every Nation on Earth. Nor indeed can any Power be so formidable as to penetrate, and to shake the Union of your Order with that of the Roman Knights, and this thorow Harmony of all well-affected Citizens.

THEREFORE, Fathers Conscript, instead of Command; instead of an Army; instead of a Province which I neglected; instead of a Triumph, and other Distinctions of Glory which I flighted, for the Preservation of you and this City; instead of my Clientships and Provincial Appointments, which, with my Fortune in the City, I labour as much to support as to acquire; for all these Services, for all the Instances of my Zeal for your Interest, and for the Pains which ye are Witnesses I bestow on the Preservation of this Republic, all I require of you is the Commemoration of this Juncture, and of the whole of my Consulate; while that shall remain in your Minds, I shall think myself surrounded with an impregnable Wall. But should my Expectation be disappointed by Ruffian Violence, to you I recommend my little Son. Sufficient shall be his Guard, not only

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to preserve, but to do him Honour, if you shall remember him to be the Son of the Man. who at his own private Peril preserved all your Therefore, Fathers Conscript, as you propose, determine with Quickness and Resolution in an Affair that concerns your very Being, and that of the People of Rome; your Wives and Children; your Religion and Properties; your Fanes, and Temples; the Roofs and Mansions of all the City; your Empire; your Liberty; the Safety of Italy, and the whole System of your Constitution. You have a Conful, who, without Hesitation, will obey your Orders, and while he breathes, will, in his own Person, charge himself with the Execution and Defence of whatever you shall decree.

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The Fana were little Chapels, dedicated to the inferior Deities, or Heroes.

This Oration was followed by a Decree of the Senate, that the Conspirators should be put to Death; which was executed the same Night in the public Prison.

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THIS Oration, which the ingenious Dr. Middleton, in his Life of Cicero, juftly calls the most Entertaining of all his Orations, was pronounced upon the following Occasion: Marcus Cælius was a young Gentleman who had been educated under the Eye of Cicero; and being of a graceful Person and amorous Disposition, but of fine Genius and Learning, entered into Some loofe Familiarities with Clodia, the Sister of Publius Clodius, a Lady infamous for her Lewdness. Cælius casting ber off, the Lady's Friends impeached him of a Defign to poison Clodia; of borrowing from ber a Sum of Money to murder Some Alexandrian Embassadors; of maltreating bis Father; of being the Friend of Catiline; of being rude to the Roman Matrons; of beating a Senator; and some seditious Practices at Naples, with several other Crimes. The chief Prosecutor was Arratinus, whose Father was at the same time. impeached for corrupt Practices by the Defendant Calius, who was acquitted upon this Occasion.

It was pronounced in the 697th Year of Rome, and the 51st of Cicero's Age.



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CICERO's

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HOULD it happen, my Lords, that in this Court there is a Man unacquainted with our Laws, our Judicatures and Forms of Proceedings, fure he must be at

a Loss to account for the aggravating Circumflances that render this Cause of so heinous a Nature,

* This Cause was tried before Cneius Domitius Calvinus the Præsor, who called to his Assistance a certain Number of the Knights or Senators, to assist him in the Trial. These Cicero calls the Judges, and frequently addresses himself to them; though they seem to answer more properly to our Jury, since they were

Nature, as that it should be the only one tried in this Festal Season , amidst public Rejoicings, and a general Intermission of all Business in

were only Judges of the Fact, the Prætor himself determining the Point of Law. These Judges often heard Causes without the Prætor's being present; but the Sentence was always given

in his Name, and in his Words.

Cicero manages this Cause with the greatest Art: He could not refuse Calius's Familiarity with Glodia; it was too well known to be denied. He excuses it, by representing Calius as a forward, brisk Youth, adorned with all the good Qualities that usually prognosticate a great Man; but unguarded and amorous; too headstrong in some Cases, and trusting too much to his Parts. At the same Time he paints Gledia in the most villainous Colours; as a notorious Proflicute, burning with infatiable Luft, and capable of the greatest Crimes. He infinuates that she had murdered her Husband 2. Metellus Celer, and lived in avowed Incest with her Brother Clodius: That the Judges might pity Calius for having ever been enfnared by her; and believe her capable of doing any Thing, in Revenge for his quitting her. The other Crimes laid to Calius's Charge, viz. his Want of Affection to his Father, his being concerned in the Murder of the Ambassadors, his being Partner in Catiline's Conspiracy, and his Attempt to poison Glodia, &c. all these he fully refutes, by the strongest Arguments, which he occasionally strengthens by positive Lvidence in Favour of his Client.

Calius was acquitted, and was afterwards Prætor in the Time of the Civil Wars betwixt Cafar and Pompey. But disturbing the Peace of the City by some new Laws, he was deposed by the Senate, and obliged to leave Rome. Afterwards joining with Mile, and attempting to gain over Cafar's Garrison at

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Thuris to declare for Pompey, he was slain.

The Romans never tried any Causes on their Holidays, till the Year of Rome 676, in the Confulship of M. Emilius Lepidus and Q. Luctarius Catulus, when Publius Plaurius, Tribune of the People, proposed a Law, to allow Courts to fit in the Holidays, for trying such Criminals as were accused of Treason against the State. This Law was passed by the Assistance of Luctatius Catulus the Conful, and is called fometimes the Luciatian, sometimes the Plautian Law, from the Names of those two Persons principally concerned in the passing of it. This might justly alarm the spectators, and give Occasion to Persons unacquainted with the Story, to suppose that there was some Plot discovered, or some new Sedition attempted. The Plain-

the Forum. He would conclude, that the Nature of the Crimes charged upon the Accused, is such that were it overlooked, this State could not exist. The same Person, when he shall hear that there is a Law for trying on any Day seditious profligate Citizens, who in Arms shall beset the Senate, assault the Magistrates, without disapproving of the Law, may still infift upon his being informed of the When he shall hear Crime that is trying. that what is depending has nothing in it villainous, nothing audacious, nothing riotous in its Nature; but that a Youth distinguished by Genius, by Application, and by Popularity, is here accused by a Man b, whose Father has been for some time, and now is, under a Prosecution at the Instance of this Youth; but that he is attacked by the Interest of a Strumpet 's he will not indeed blame the Piety of Atra-

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tiffs feem to have got this Cause tried in the Holidays, by inserting in the Accusation, that Calius was concerned in Catiline's Conspiracy, and his murdering the Alexandrian Ambassadors, both which were Crimes immediately against the State.

dors, both which were Crimes immediately against the State, b Calius had some Time before accused L. Atratinus of Bribery, of which he was acquitted; and had now again brought him to a new Trial, which Affair was in Dependance at the Time of this Speech. L. Atratinus the Son, was the principal Accuser of Calius.

c Clodia, Sifter of P. Clodius, formerly beloved by Calius, now used all her Interest to have him condemned, in Revenge for his quitting her.

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tinus, but he will imagine that some Restraint ought to be laid upon Female Lewdness; he will think that you are painful, at a time when a general Vacation entitles you to Repose. For if you shall hear with Attention, and weigh with Judgment, the whole of this Cause, you must, my Lords, conclude, that no Man but by your Compulsion, would here list himself as Accuser, nor when he had listed himself. could he have the least hopes of Success 4, but from the unbounded Lewdness and implacable Malice of some other Person. I indeed pardon Atratinus, who is a young Man of great Humanity and Worth, my Friend, and may plead in his Excuse, Piety, Compulsion, or Youth: If he undertook this Profecution of his own accord, I attribute it to filial Piety; if by Command, to Compulsion; if from the Hope of Success, to Youth . The other Profecutors, have not only no Title to Pardon, but they deserve all the Keenness of Oppofition.

Bur

d He would infinuate that Clodia was known to be such a Monster, as would stick at nothing to promote her Revenge; but was ready to swear any Thing herself, and bribe others to do the same.

e If Airatinus thought it possible to cast Calius from such slender Proofs, it was owing to his being unacquainted with the Laws, and the Customs of the Courts.

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Bur, my Lords, I apprehend, that entering upon this Defence, it is proper for me to touch upon the Youth of Marcus Calius, and obviate those Calumnies with which his Accufers have endeavoured to asperse his Person, and to rifle, to rob him of Dignity. ther is represented in different Lights, either as making but a poor Figure in Life, or as undutifully treated by his Son. As to his Dignity, Calius, without either himself, or even me speaking a Word, can easily answer all Objections by appealing to those who know him, and who are advanced in Years. As to those, who on account of his advanced Age, have had but few Opportunities of knowing him, he having been long disused to act with us in the Forum, let fuch be affured, that all that exalted Dignity which the Character of a Roman Knight can admit of, has ever in its highest Splendor been thought to be supported by Calius, and it is so thought now, not only by his own Relations, but by all to whom in any respect his Person is known.

That he is the Son of a Roman Knight', ought never to have been urged in Accusation where

The Accusers certainly had never made this a Part of the Accusation, that he was Son of a Knight; but if we may be allowed

where these were to prosecute, where you are to judge, and I to defend. As to what you have advanced against his filial Duty, we may form Conjectures, but the Parent is to pronounce Judgment. Our Sentiments you will hear from the Evidences on Oath; what the Sentiments of his Parents are, the inconsolable Anguish of a weeping Mother, the Dejection of a Father, and those melancholy Objects now before your Eyes, declare.

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As to what is objected, as if this Youth had been disagreeable to his Fellow-Citizens, no Vol. II. K. Man

allowed to guess, it is probable they might have said, that he lived extravagantly, and spent great Sums of Money, though he was only the Son of a Knight: For it was necessary to be worth a certain Sum of Money, in order to be ranked amongst the Knights, and so much more to be ranked amongst the Sonators. Thus the Censors frequently struck out of the List of Senators, or Knights, such Persons as were found not to have a sufficient Estate, to qualify them for that Rank. This Accusation therefore, of Caliur's spending more Money than could be supported by a Person of his Rank, might be turned, by Cicero's Art, into a Ressection on the Rank itself.

s By this it would feem, that all, or the greatest Part, of the Judges were Knights; as Cicero himself was the Son of a Knights For the Knights, after being excluded for several Years, were reflored to their Privilege of being appointed Judges with the Senators, by a Law passed by Lucius Corea, in the first Consul-ship of Pompey and Crassus, in the Year of Rome 684.

h The Roman Law gave to Parents an absolute Power over their Children, even that of Life and Death. Gicero therefore justly observes, that we might have our own private Reflections on a Son's Behaviour to his Parent, but could not try him for it, unless the Father himself accused the Son. He was the most proper Judge to determine when the Son transgressed the Laws of filial Reverence.

Man in Person even received such Honours from those of Puteoli, than Calius has received in his Absence; in his Absence they enrolled him into their highest Order ; and, unfollieited, they bestowed on him what they had denied to the Sollicitations of many others. The same Body has sent a Delegation of the most refeectable Men, both of our Order, and the Roman Knights, to this Tryal, with the strongest and amplest Recommendations. I feem to have laid the Foundation on which I am to build my Defence; a Foundation that must be unsbaken, if rested on the Judgment of those with whom he has the nearest Connections: Nor could his Youth have sufficiently recommended him to your Favour, had he incurred the Displeasure, not only of such a Father, but of so illustrious, so wise a Corporation.

But that I may apply to myself what I have said; from the same Sources, did I slow into

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k This is one of the greatest Faults of this Orator. He was fo full of himself, that he never made any Speech without sounding his own Praise.

The Towns called Municipia, Free Towns, were such Towns as had received the Freedom of Rome, had a Vote in all the Assemblies of the Roman People, when they pleased to come to Rome: At the same Time they had Power to make By Laws, for the better governing their own Corporation: They had a little Senate, which they called Curia, and the Senators were called Decuriones. They had also two Magistrates annually clested, under the Name of Dunmviri.

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into Reputation with Mankind; and it was from the Character, from the Judgment which my own Relations formed of me, that my Practice at the Bar, and my Schemes of Life, poured through a wider Channel of public Regard. For as to the Charge against his Chastity, a Charge urged by all his Accusers, not upon Facts, but Affertions and Calumnies, never can it affect M. Calius fo sensibly, as to make him'regret that he was not mif-shapen by Nature; for these have ever been the common-place Calumnies propagated against all who in their Youth had a handsome Person and graceful Appearance. But it is one thing to rail, another to accuse. An Accusation requires a Charge, and this Charge must fix the Crime; it must mark the Person, it must be proved by Arguments, and supported by Evidence: Railing has no End but to infult; if urged with Petulance, it becomes Abuse; if with Humour, Wit.

This Part of the Charge gave me indeed a good deal of Surprize and Concern, that it should, above all other Men, fall to the Management of Atratinus; for it is both unbecoming of, and inconsistent with his Age; and, as the Court had an Opportunity of ob-

ferving, the Modesty of the excellent Youth checked his indulging himself in the Propriety of Language adapted to his Part. I could have wished that some of you beaten Gentlemen had undertaken this Province of Railing, then might we have refuted that Licentiousness of Railing, with more Freedom and more Strength, and more too in our own Way. With you, Atratinus, I will deal more gently, both because your Modesty is a Restraint upon my Tongue, and because I think myself obliged to preserve my Friendship for your Father and yourself.

THIS, however, it is proper I should advife you; in the first place, that you should entertain a becoming Consciousness of your own real Character; that Indecency of Expression may be as far from your Lips, as the Lewdness of Action is from your Conduct. In the next place, that you urge not in your Charge against another what, were it without regard to Truth urged against yourfelf, you must blush to hear. For where is the Man who may not tread that Path? Where is the Man who may not calumniate, with all the Pertness he pleases, such Youth and such Gracefulness, however blameless it may be, if its Appearance conveys but a Presumption of Guilt?

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Guilt? But all the Blame of your Part in this Accusation, must light upon those who charged you with it: To the Praise of your Modesty be it said, that we can witness with what Unwillingness you spoke; and to the Praise of your Address, that what you was obliged to speak was elegant and polite.

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of lt? But there is a short Answer to all this Charge: For as long as the Age of Calius might inser a Presumption of Guilt, it was protected first by his own Modesty, and then by the Care and Education bestowed on him by his Father, who as soon as he gave him the Manly Gown —But here let me say nothing of myself; my own Character I submit to you.—But this I will say, he was immediately brought by his Father to me. No body saw this same Marcus Calius, in that Bloom of Life, but in Company with his Father or me, or in the chaste House of Marcus Crassus, where he was trained in the most honourable Arts.

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At the Age of Sixteen, the Romans made their Sons change their Dress: They no longer dressed in the Habit usual tor Boys, but put on the sull Gown. This was done with great Ceremony. They were then reckoned of Age to serve in the Army.

As to the Objection of my Client's Familiarity with Catiline, that is a Suspicion by no means applicable to him. While he was but a Strippling, you know that Catiline and myfelf stood for the Consulate; but if ever Calins kept his Company, or if ever he left mine, though many excellent young Men were zealous, for that infamous flagitious Fellow, then let Calius be thought to have been too intimate with Catiline. But it may be faid, we know, we afterwards faw, that Calius was afterwards the Friend of Catiline: Who denies it! But in this Place I am only to defend his Conduct, in that Period of Life, which of itself is but too liable to Infirmity, and from the Lewdness of others too subject to Infection. While I was Prætor, he attended me close. He did not then know Catiline. During that Time he acted as Prætor in Afric. The Year after, Catiline was tried for Extortion: Calius was then with me; nor did he ever appear in Court for him as a Friend :: .The following Year I stood for the Confulate; I was opposed by Catiline; with him, Calius

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m When any Person was accused, all his Friends and Acquaintance attended him in Mourning, to sollicit in his Behalf, and to shew how much he was beloved.

Calius never appeared ; from me he never departed.

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HAVING therefore practifed in the Forum many Years, without Suspicion, without Infamy he favoured Gatiline, who again stood ... How long then do you think that Youth ought to be guarded? Formerly a whole Year was allotted to us, in which we might learn to keep the Arm within the Gown, and Field-Exercises and Diversions we performed in our The Discipline in the Camp and Waistcoats. on the March was the same, when we first began to carry Arms. At this Time of Life, whoever did not, by his grave and decent behaviour, by the Habit he had acquired in private Education, and likewife by a natural virtuous Disposition, protect his own Character.

K 4

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n The Candidates for any Office were attended to the Place of Election by all their Relations, Clients, and Acquaintances. Calius therefore appearing with Cirers, when Caribbe fet up against him, shewed that he had a greater Regard for him than for his Rival.

o As Cicero could not deny, that Caliur appeared for Cariline, upon his standing for the Consultain a second Time, he wisely passes it over in a sew Words, less it should make an Impression on the Judges; but insists more largely on those Points which made for his Client.

P The first Year after taking the Gown, was usually spent in learning their Exercise in the Campus Marsius. There the Youth practised Fencing, Running, Leaping, &c. to strengthen their Bodies, and to qualify themselves for serving in the Army, which every one did for several Years before he could stand for any Office at Rome.

it never was in his Power to escape real Infamy, though the Care of his Relations in his Education had been ever so strict. But whoever had passed that Entrance upon Life without Blame or Blemish, after he arrived at Maturity, and lived as a Man among Men, nobody ever presumed to throw out the least Resection against his Honour or Chastity.

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Calius had feveral Years practifed in the Forum, before he favoured Catiline; but in this he did no more than what was done by many of every Rank and every Age. For Catiline possessed a, as I suppose you may remember, many, not indeed finished Resemblances, but striking Out-lines of the most exalted Virtues: Many were the Ruffians with whom he was acquainted; while he himself appeared to be devoted to Men of Virtue, though he often kindled Lust and Lewdness, yet sometimes he could prompt Labour and Activity: While he was burning in the Guilt of infamous Defires, he was painful in the Pursuit of military Accomplishments: Nor do I think that fuch a Prodigy ever appeared upon Earth; fuch

^{*} Cicero here gives Catiline his just Character, as it is drawn by Sallast, and other Historians; and represents his good Qualities in the best Light, to excuse Calius for having been drawn into a Familiarity with him.

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fuch a Composition of natural Affections and Passions, so differing, so opposite, so repugnant to one another. At one Time, who was ever more agreeable to the best of Men; and who more intimate with the worst? At one Time, who could be more attached to the Patriot-Interest? Yet who a more bitter Enemy to Rome? In Pleasures, who more Impure? In Toils, who more indefatigable? Whoever more rapacious; yet who was ever more profuse? Yet this Man, my Lords, posfessed the furprizing Qualities of being able, after he had catched the Friendship of Numbers, to fix them by his obsequiousness, by sharing whatever he possessed with all, by supplying the Exigencies of his Party with his Purse, with his Interest, his personal Fatigue, and if they required it, by his Villainy and Presumption; adapting his own Nature to the Juncture, by supplying and bending it to his Conveniency; by appearing severe with the Morose, easy with the Loose, grave with the Aged, gay with the Young, intrepid with the Resolute, and lewd with the Lustful.

AFTER, by this Variety, this Jumble of natural Dispositions, he had got together, from every Land, every Man who was a Russian or a Rebel, he, at the same Time, by a certain Shew

Shew of Virtue held the Friendship of many brave worthy Men; nor could his execrable Attempt to destroy this Government have sprouted up, had not the Luxuriancy of such complicated Vice been nourished from certain Stems of Compliance and Hardiness.

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LET that Article therefore, my Lords, be rejected; nor let an Acquaintance with Catitine be imputed as a Crime: It was the Case of many, and even of some worthy Men: Myfelf, let me speak it out, myself he once almost imposed upon, by appearing to me an excellent Citizen, attached to every good Man, and a firm, faithful Friend, His Crimes I was convinced of by what I faw, fooner than by what I judged; by what I felt, sooner than by what I suspected. If Cælius was amongh a great Crowd of his Friends, he has more Reafon to regret his own Mistake, as I too am fometimes forry for having been imposed upon by the same Person, rather than thus to dread its being urged as a Crime that he was acquainted with Catiline.

Your Accusation therefore is passed from the Scandal of an Intrigue, to the Unpopularity of a Conspiracy. For you urged, but in a hea helitating and curfory Manner, that Celius was involved in Catiline's Compiracy, because he had a Friendship for his Person; a Charge, on which it was fo impossible to hang a Crime, that the Words of the eloquent Youth could fearcely hang together while he urged it. Why all this Rage in Calius? Whence this monftrous Defect, either in his Morals and Nature, or in his Estate and Circumstances? Shew me, in short, whether Calius ever lay under fuch an Imputation? But I wafte the Time in proving a self-evident Truth. This however I must fay, that if Calius had been accessary to that Conspiracy', nay, had he not had a determined Aversion to his Guilt, never would he have endeavoured to diftinguilh himfelf in his Youth, by the Part he bore in the Impeachment upon that Conspiracy. And I know not, if the Charge against his Ambition and the Crimes of his Affociates and Confederates in Corruption, fince I am now on that Subject, may not admit of the same Answer. For it never can be supposed, that Calius could be so infatuated, had he stained himself by plunging into the boundless System of Corruption

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I am afraid Cieero's Argument here is not conclusive. He afferts, that Calius could not be guilty of fuch Crimes, because he had impeached others for the same Crimes. This is often done, and is by no Means a Proof of Innocence to wise Men, however it may blind the Vulgar.

ruption with which he is charged, as to impeach another of the same Practices. Nor would he have prosecuted another upon a Presumption of a Crime, which he wished that he himself might be indulged in perpetually practising: Nor, if he had thought that he himself was to be once tried for Corruption, would he have ever impeached another Person twice on the same Crime; which though he did against the Rules of Prudence, and against my Advice, yet such is his Humour, that he chuses rather to attack the Innocence of another, than to seem in the least Doubt about his own,

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As to the Objection of his Debts, his unwarrantable Expences, and his Books of Accounts that are now demanded, I shall answer it in a few Words. One who is under the Tuition of his Father, keeps no Books. He never yet borrowed any Sums. There is indeed one Article of Expence laid to his Charge, which

The Censors of Rome were chiefly employed in restraining Luxury: They could demand an Account of any Man's Expences. It is probable, by this Passage, that upon an Accusation, the Prætor might do the same. Cicero very well knew that his Client had been extravagant, and therefore wards off this Blow, by putting them in Mind, that Calius's Father was yet alive, and that of Consequence Calius had no Occasion to keep any regular Account of his Expences; it being supposed, that he had no Money, but what was surnished him by his Father.

which is his Dwelling. He pays, you fay, a Rent of two hundred and fifty Pounds a Year. Now at last I begin to perceive, that the House of Clodius is to be put up to Sale; for the Lodgings that Cælius rents in it, can scarce be worth above eighty Pounds a Year. But you, to do Clodius a Pleasure, have made this Lie to serve a Jobb of his.

You blame him for leaving his Father; a Charge unjustly urged against him at this Time of Life. He who, when acting in a public Capacity, obtained a Victory', to me indeed mortifying, but to himself honourable; and when he was of an Age to stand for a Magistracy, had separated from his Father, not only by the old Man's Permission, but Persuasion: And as his Father's House was at a great Distance from the Forum, that he might have easier Access to our Houses, and that his Friends might wait upon him with less Inconveniency

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^{*} Calius accused Caius Antonius, Cicero's Colleague in the Consulship, of Treason, and cast him; so that he was obliged to go into Banishment. This was an Honour to Calius, but a Grief to Cicero, as he loved Antonius, and defended him in the Trial. This might pust up a young Man like Calius, and make him hope to raise himself by his Eloquence at the Bar; to attend which more closely, he removed from his Father's House, and hired Clodius's House in the Palatium. Thus Cicero tells the Story, though it is more than probable, that it was to carry on his Amour with Clodia, that made him chuse that Neighbourhood.

142 CICERO'S QRATION to themselves, hired a House upon the Palatium at a moderate Rent.

And here I may fay with Marcus Crassus, when lately he complained of King Ptolemy's Arrival at Rome; I wish that never in the Pelian Wood"; I could even piece out this Poem farther, For never then a wandering Lady had given us this Trouble—

With leve-fick Soul, and Heart by Passion
smit.

For you shall find, my Lords, when I came to this Passage, that I will prove this Medea of the Palatium, with his Removal into her Neighbourhood, has been the Cause of all the Susserings, or rather of all the Calumnies that this young Gentleman has endured.

THEREFORE, my Lords, supported by your Wisdom, I am in no Pain about the Fictions which, I understand, have been invented by the Prosecutors to prejudge this Cause. For they

These are supposed to be some Fragments of the Poet Esnist, the Humour of which we cannot rightly judge of, for want of the whole Passage. The last Part concerning Media, evidently alludes to Clodia, as the Author of this Profecution.

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they gave out, that there will be a Senator who will give Evidence that he was beaten by Colius at the Pontifical Elections ". I would demand of this Senator, should he appear, First, Why he did not proceed upon an Action immediately after this happened? Then, if he chuse to make Complaints rather than feek for Redrefs ; Why he was here upon Compulsion by the Profecutors, and not of his own Accord? Why he should chuse to complain so long after the Fact happened, and not instantly. Should he answer clearly and pointedly to all these Questions, I will then enquire, From what Source this Senator Springs? For if his Riseand Fountain bein his own Person, perhaps I shall as usual be under some Concern: But should I find him to be a Rivulet brought from the Fountain-Head, to flow through the Canal of your Accusation, it will give me Pleasure, that in a Charge like yours, supported by fo much Popularity and Power, only one

^{*} The Assembly for electing either the Postifix Maximus, the High Briest, or some of the inserior Orders. I shall only here observe, that the sucred Officers were not excluded from any civil Office. C. Julius Casar. at that Time was High Priest; and Cicero was of the College of Augurs.

^{*} i. c. Why he chose to go about murmuring, rather than bring an Action directly against him.

Y Cicero seems to infinuate, that they were capable of the meanest Tricks to procure Witnesses; and that he would be careful to search into the Characters of every Witness they should produce, to see if they were bribed.

² This is faid in Derision, and not in Earnest.

CICERO'S ORATION 144 Senator can be found who is willing to oblige you.

NoR am I under any Apprehensions with regard to that other Set who faw fo clearly in the Dark; for the Profecutors give out, that they can produce Citizens to prove, that as their Wives were returning from Supper, they were ruffled by Calius. They must be very wise Persons, who will venture to advance fuch a Fact as this upon Oath, when they must admit, at the same time, that they never once proposed a Reference, nor entered upon any Steps towards Redress for these enormous Infults!

Bur, my Lords, the whole Nature of this Attack you now understand; and when it is made, you ought to repel it. For my Client is not accused by those by whom he is attacked. The Darts aimed at him are publickly thrown, but privately furnished. Nor do I speak this to cast a Slur upon those Gentlemen', to whom this very Circumstance ought to do Honour: They do their Duty; they defend their Friends; they act like Men of Courage; when

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The Accusers, viz. Herennius, Baffus, and Airations the. Younger.

b This embrace his accui ling, a (perniciou was brou

when wronged, they complain; when angry, they exclaim; and when provoked, they fight b. But, my Lords, your Wisdom must direct you, that though these brave Men may have good Reasons for their attacking Marcus Calius, yet never can that be any Reason why you should have greater Regard for another's Resentment, than your own Reputation. You see what Multitudes are in the Forum, and how various the Natures and Passions of those who crowd it. Of all their Numbers, how many do you imagine use to press their Services; to make their Court, and offer their Evidence to Men of Power, Popularity, and Eloquence, when they think they have any View to ferve.

IF any such should intrude themselves at this Trial, let your Wisdom, my Lords, disappoint their Forwardness; thus shall you appear to provide at once for the Sasety of my Client, your own Consciences, and the Interest of all your Fellow-Citizens, against the dangerous Encroachments of Power. And here Vol. II.

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b This feems to refer to Atratinus the Accuser, who gladly embraced this Opportunity of accusing Galius, in Revenge of his accusing Atratinus the Father. It has no Relation to Duelling, a Custom unknown among the Greeks and Romans, and a pernicious Remain of the Barbarity of the Gostos, by whom it was brought in Fashion.

give me Leave to detach you from oral Evidence, and not to suffer the unvariable Justice of my Client's Plea to be rested upon the Assections of any Witness, which may be formed, moulded, and influenced with great Ease. Let me deal in Arguments; then shall I resute their Charge by Circumstances more striking than Light itself: Facts shall be opposed to Facts; Motives to Motives, and Conclusion to Conclusion.

THEREFORE, with Pleasure, I heard the weighty and elegant Defence made by Marcus Craffus, who spoke to the Neapolitan Seditions; the beating of the Alexandrian Envoys at Puteoli; and the Goods of Pallas. I wished he had likewise touched upon the Affair of Dion; but I do not see how that could be to your Purpose, fince the Person who committed the Fact, is not even afraid to own it. For Publius Ascitius, who was impeached as aiding and abetting in the Action, was acquitted upon But of what Nature must that Crime be, when the Man who committed it does not deny it; the Man who has denied it, is acquitted? And shall it endanger only the Person who was not accessary to the Perpetration, nay, who cannot be prefumed to be

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be conscious to the Intention of such an Act? But if that Prosecution did more Service than it occasioned Reslections to Ascitius, shall thy Slander affect the Man who has not been suspected, who has not even been belied as accessary to such an Action?

But it will be faid, Ascitius was acquitted by a Collusion in the Profecution. This Objection may be easily answered in this Place; and especially by me, who, in that Prosecution, acted for the Defendant. But Calius is of Opinion, that Ascitius had the best Plea. But however that may be, he thinks it ought to be quite distinct from his own. Not only Calius, but other Youths of the finest natural and acquired Parts, endowed with the most upright Intentions, and the most excellent Knowledge, I mean the COPONII, Titus and Caius, who, of all others, discovered the most fensible Affliction at the Death of Dion. and were charmed by his Hospitality, and the more agreeable Entertainment of his Learning and Humanity. Dion lived, as you have heard, with L. Lucceius, to whom he was known at Alexandria; and the Character which he, or his Brother, who is a Man of the greatest Distinction, shall give to Marcus Calius. L 2

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Calius, you may hear from themselves, if they are brought into Court. But let me leave that, and at length proceed to the Nerits of the Cause.

I OBSERVED, my Lords, that you have, with much Attention, heard my Friend, L. Herennius, in whom, though in a great meafure you were inchanted by his Wit and Manner of Expression, yet have I sometimes been afraid, that this fly fubtle Method of introducing a Charge, might gradually and infenfibly, at last, infinuate itself into your Belief. For he talked a great deal about Luxury; a great deal about Lust; a great deal about the Vices of Youth; and a great deal about their Manners: And the same Gentleman, who, in all other Lights of Life is gentle, and an agreeable Master of that mild Humanity which wins the Affections of Mankind, was, on this Occasion, as testy as an old Uncle, a Cenfor, or a School-Master. He rated Marcus Calius more than ever a Parent did a Son, and gave him a long Lecture upon Intemperance and Incontinency. What shall I fay, my Lords? I could not blame you for attentively listening to a morose harsh Me-

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Method of speaking, which, I own, shocked myself,

THE first Part, which gave me no great Concern, run upon Calius being intimate with my Friend Bestia; that he supped with him; that he often visited at his House; and was his Friend when he flood for the Prætorship, These Things, as they are evidently false, give me no Concern. For those who, he says, supped with them, are either absent, or under a Necessity of giving in the same Evidence. Nor am I startled at his faying that Calius was his Mate in the Lupercal Games . For the Company of the true Luperci is of wild, clownish, and ruftic Original; and the Institution of their pastoral Meetings is more ancient than that of Government and Laws. Since its Fellows not only mutually accuse each other, but in their Accusations mention each their very Bye-Laws, left to those who are not in the Secret, they should appear to act irregularly 4.

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The Words in the Original in some Editions run, Si quis id

They that celebrated them, used to run naked up and down the Streets, and were called Luperci. They had, it seems, an odd savage Custom of exposing one another's Faults, and even professed, that every Member of their Society acted consistently with the Rules of their Institution, when he endeavoured to blacken a Brother Lupercus.

But, waving all this, I shall proceed to what gives me more Concern. His Schooling upon Dalliance was long, but gentle, it appeared to be rather Declamation than an Invective, and therefore begat the more Attention. As for my Friend Publius Clodius; while he gave himself high and violent Airs, and, in all the Rage of Passion, dashed about histragical Words in a furious Tone, I thought indeed well enough of his Eloquence, but it put me under no great Apprehension; for I have feen him wrangling in the fame manner in other Causes, and all to no Purpose. But now, Balbus, by your good Leave, I will an-Twer you, if I may presume, if I may venture to defend a Man who never discouraged a Banquet of any kind, who deals in Perfumes, and has been at the Baii,

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forte nesciat timere videatur; in others, Si id forte nesciat timere videantur; in others, Si id forte nesciat temere videantur: And Abramius presers the following Reading to all the others, Ut me quis id forte nesciat timere videantur; which, according to him, makes the Sense of the Passage this: 'They boast of their being Members of the Fraternity when they accuse, as if they were asraid lest any one should not discover them to belong to it.'

This is a very humorous Picture of an over-heated Speaker, whose Words generally fall ineffectual to the Ground.

f The Bail was the celebrated Retirement of the Roman People of Fashion at certain Seasons. It was famous for Springs of warm

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perly tion to It is true, I have both seen and heard of a great Number in this City, who having not only gently sipped, and as we say dipt their Finger-ends into, this manner of Life, but plunged their whole Youth into Pleasures, have sometimes emerged; have, as the Saying is, bustanded what they had, and at last proved great and eminent Men. For every body admits that some Scope is to be given to young Men; and that the Essusion of the youthful Passions is directed by Nature herself. If by their Eruption no Life is endangered, no House demolished, then are they generally thought to be gentle and venial.

But to me, from the common Stain of Youth, you seemed to endeavour to fix some Charge upon Calius. Therefore all that deep Silence, with which your Speech was heard, proceeded from the Reslections we were led into upon the general Immorality of the Age, from a particular Instance. But it is easy to bring a Charge against Luxury. It would employ me till Night, should I endeavour to go L 4 through

warm Water, where they used to bathe; in short, in every Thing it so much resembled our Bath, that it may be very properly translated Bath, were it not that it would give a Translation too modern an Air.

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through all that might be faid on that Head. A Declamation on Debaucheries, Adulteries, Wantonness, and Expences, were endless. Though you had not in your Eye any particular Person, yet Vice in general is a Subject that would admit of a grave and copious Arraignment. But, my Lords, your Wisdom will direct you not to wander from the particular Charge, nor when the Profecutor shall stimulate your Severity and Gravity, and point it against Crimes, against Vices, against Immoralities, and against the Times, will-you discharge your Indignation upon a Man who is brought to your Bar, and who, not by his own Crimes, but the Vices of many, is now liable to an Imputation by him unmerited.

THEREFORE dare I not venture to return that Answer to your Severity which it deserves; for I meant to be an Advocate, and to plead for some Indulgence to the Sallies of Youth. This, I say, I dare not venture upon, nor urge the Privilege of green Years: I disclaim the Plea, which to all others is admitted of. All I beg

There is in the Original somewhat so exquisitely humoursome, and at the same Time so delicate, that it is next to impossible to preserve the Beauty of the Author, and not offend the Chastity of the Reader. I beg is, if there lies against this Age a general Charge, which I own to be heavy, of running into Debt, of Petulance and youthful Lusts, that neither the Crimes of others, nor the Vices of the Times and Age, may operate to the Prejudice of my Client. At the same time, while I beg for this, I don't refuse to answer pointedly to all the Crimes that are charged upon him in particular.

THERE are two Charges, one relating to Gold, the other to Poison, urged against the same Person: It is said that Gold was borrowed of Clodia, and a Poison prepared to dispatch her. Every thing else urged is not criminal, but scandalous, and more properly the Subject of a scolding Bout, than a public Trial. To call Adulterer, Whoremaster, Pimp, is to rail, not to accuse. For such Charges there is not so much as a Foundation where ye can fix them; they are opprobrious Terms, rashly poured out, without any Grounds, by a passionate Accuser.

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mnd I HAVE the Source, I have the Author, I have the precise Principle and Rife of all these

h In the Original the Words are, Certum, Nomen, & Caput, about the true Meaning of which, among the Romans, Critics and Com-

these Calumnies in my Eye. There was a Neceffity for Gold'; he borrowed it of Clodia: he borrowed it without any Evidence, and he had it as long as he pleased. Here I can perceive a strong Presumption of a certain prodigious Intimacy. He had a Mind to kill the Tame Lady; he looked out for Poison; he applied to all he could; he prepared it; he fixed on the Place; he brought it. Here again I can discern the most inveterate Hatred. with a most cruel Quarrel broken out. In this whole Affair, my Lords, we have to do with Clodia, a Woman not only noble but notorious, of whom I shall say nothing, but so far as I am obliged for the Vindication of my Client.

But, Cneius Domitius, your distinguished Penetration informs you, that our Business lies with her only; if she denies that she lent Gold to Cælius; if she does not affirm that he prepared Poison for her, we are guilty of Slander,

Commentators have made such a Pother; but without minding what they have advanced on that Head, I have translated them in that Way, which I thought made Cicero speak the best Sense.

It is very probable, that this Gold was in Plate and Jewels, which Calius had received for an immediate Occasion to be returned to Clodia; otherwise Circero would have spoke of the Loan not by the Word Sumpsifier, but Credidiffer, or Mutue dedifict.

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der, by our mentioning the Mother of a Family', in a manner that is inconfistent with the Decency which the Sanctity of Matrons requires. But fince, were that Lady out of the Question, there neither would be a Crime of which my Client could be convicted, nor any Money to carry on the Profecution, what ought we, who are his Advocates, to do, but to repel those who attack us? This indeed I would do with great Keenness, did there not fublist Animolities betwixt me and that Lady's Husband'; -- I mean her Brother; --I still fall into that Mistake. Now I will act coolly, nor advance a Step farther than my Duty, and the Interest of my Client oblige me; for I have always thought it unbecoming me to harbour any Resentment against a Woman; especially a Lady who has the Character of extending her Good-Nature to all the World, rather than of shewing her Spite to any particular Male.

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k Among the Romans the Words Mater Familias and Matrona, were used promissionally, to fignify a Lady of chaste Reputation, whether a Wife or a Widow. We have many Instances in the Roman Laws and History, how much they were honoured both in public and private.

This is a very severe Sneer of Cicero, such as would be suffered in no modern Court of Law without a Reprimand. But we are to consider, that our Orator took very great Liberties, and the Character of Clodius justified him in taking a greater Liberty here than usual.

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Bur let me alk herself", whether she chuses that I should treat her in a serious, solemn, old fashioned, or in a gentle, complaifant, gallant, Manner? If the chuses the four Manner and Fashion, then must I raise some of the bearded Gentlemen from the Shades. and not fuch a smock faced Gentleman as the is fond of, but these bristle-Beards " which we fee in old Images and Statues, one who will bang my Lady, and speak for me, if she should scold me into Silence. Let some such in her own Family start up; there is the BLIND old Gentle-

m This beautiful Apostrophe is, perhaps, as artful as any Thing we meet with in Cicero's Writings. We may easily imagine what an Effect the Contrast must have had upon the Minds of the Audience, betwixt a Woman of an infamous Life, and her Ancestors of the greatest Reputation and Purity; whose Statues were in the very Court where our Orator was pleading. This Figure requires the most delicate Touches of Art, to work

it properly up, as Cicero has done here.

I hope this Passage will not appear too ludicrous, when the ingenious Reader shall compare it with the Original, which really conveys a ridiculous enough Idea. Excitandus eff, fays he, aliquis mibi ex inferis. ex BARBATIS illis, pointing, as we may suppose, to the Statue, which was furnished with a plentitul Crop of Hair; non bac barbula, pointing to Clodius who was a fine Beau. We may here observe, that in the Time of Appius Cacus, which was in the Year of Rome 640, the Romans did not use to shave their Beards. But we may conjecture, from a Passage of Livy, that they used to shave them about the Year 370. Vide Lib. VI. where he says, Satis constat magnam partem plebis vestem mutasse, multos mortales capillum & burbam promiffife. " It is plain, Tays he, that a great Part of the People " changed their Apparel, and that many suffered their Hair and Beards to grow " Therefore, as Lipfius observes, if in Times of public Calamity Beards were suffered to grow, it is evident that at other Times they were shaved.

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Gentleman, the most proper that can be, for his not being capable to fee her will fave him a great deal of Grief. Supposing now he were to start up, such would be his Behaviour, and fuch his Language; "Woman! What "hast thou to do with Calius? What with a "Stripling? What with a Stranger? Why " was you fo intimate with him as to lend " him Money? Or why fuch a Foe as to dread " his Poison? Hast thou not seen thy Father? Hast thou not heard that thy Uncle, thy " Grandfather, thy Great Grandfather, and " his Father were Confuls ? Art thou infen-" fible that thou were married to Quintus Me-"tellus", a brave Nobleman, and a worthy "Patriot, who no fooner left the Threshold " of his own House, than he rose superior " to almost all his Countrymen in Merit, in "Glory, and Dignity: When thou thyself, of noble Descent, by him were married in-" to an illustrious Family, why was Calius

O How moving must this have been, in an Assembly to which the Memories of all these great. Men were dear? There were sew more illustrious Families in Rome than that of which this Lady was descended.

P This was one of the finest Gentlemen in Rome, and a Man of great Quality: Cicero cannot help however, throwing an oblique Resection here upon him, that it may the more strongly affect Clodia; for he infinuates, that while he was within Doors, he was little better than any other of her quiet Husbands. However, it is very probable, that the Ignominy of being a Cuckold, was not near so great then, as it is now.

" fo much thy Intimate; Was he thy Coufin, thy Relation, or the Bosom-Friend of thy

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" Husband ! He was none of these. What

"could be the Reason, but Lust, hood-wink'd

" Luft? If thou art unmoved at feeing the

" manly Images of our Family, ought not my

" Descendant, ought not the Example of that

" Quinta Clodia', to have invited thee into a

" Competition for the Female Glory of Do-

" mestic Virtue? Ought not Glodia, that

" Vestal Virgin, who embracing her trium-

" phant Father, prevented his being torn from

" his Car' by a spiteful Tribune of the Peo-

The Antients carried their Notions of Friendship very far; so far sometimes as to lose Sight of the Husband, in preserving the Character of the Friend. Not to mention the famous Instance of Cato; Plutarch, in his conjugal Precepts, lays it down as a Maxim, that a Wife ought to have no private Friendships, but to treat all her Husband's Friends as her own.

This was the Lady who gave a very extraordinary Proof of her Chastity, by pulling a Ship with her Girdle up the River, while it stuck fast in the Strand, and could not be moved by all the Force that was applied.

There is somewhat in this Story, that to a Modern seems ridiculous and improbable. We are told in the Story of this Fact, "That the General, who was Father (Suetonius says Bro- ther) to this Lady, entered in a triumphant Manner, without any Decree of the People, and against the Will of the Tri- bunes, into Rome; but that she found Means to jump into the Chariot, and by sitting along with her Father all the Time, till he got to the Capitol, prevented his being torn out of his triumphal Car." But this is easily reconciled to Probability, by reslecting upon the prodigious Regard that was paid among the Romans to Vestal Virgins, who, as such, had a Right to all the Privileges of Matrons. Among their other Privileges, they had that of never being removed by the Magistrates out of their

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" ple? Why art thou affected more with the " Vices of a Brother, than with the Virtues " of a Father and a Grandfather, which have " devolved from me upon the Females, as well " as the Males of my Family? Did I tear my " Country from the Thoughts of a Peace with " Pyrrhus ? And shalt thou daily enter into " Intrigues of obscene Amours? Did I bring " in the Water that supplies this City, that " thou mightest use it to thy incestuous Pur-" poses? Did I lay a Road", that it might " ferve as a Parade for thee and thy Train of " Gallants?"

Bur what am I doing, my Lords! I have introduced so grave a Character, that I am afraid the same Appius may suddenly turn to the other Side, and with his censorial Severity, begin to school Calius. But I shall speak of that presently, and in such a Manner, my Lords, that I hope to vindicate the Morals of

Marcus

Seat in any public Assembly; and this probably, with the vast Regard paid to her as Priestess, was the Reason why the Tri-

bune was obliged to suffer her quietly to go along.

This is a noted Story and became proverbial. See the first Philippic. The Fact was, that this old Man, though blind, was carried into the Senate Hopfe, where he diffuaded the Senate from accepting the Offers of Peace proposed by Gineas, the Mi-

" This is the famous Via Appia, which is still to be feen entire, except in those Parts which have been ruined by Earthquakes.

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Marcus Calius to the severest Inquisitors. But you, Madam, for now I speak to you not in a borrowed, but my own Character, if you dream of proving your Actions, your Words. your Forgeries, your Machinations, your Arguments, there is a Necessity of your Accouning for, and laying forth, all this exceffive Intimacy, this excessive Friendship, this excessive Familiarity. While our Accusers talk so freely of Intrigues, Amours, Adulteries, the Baia, the Banquets, Collations, Songs, Concerts, and Pleasure-Boats, they at the same Time own, that they have their Instructions from you. But fince you was so blindly, so wilfully, so unaccountably obstinate, as to be brought into the Forum ", and before this Court, you must either disown and disprove all they have advanced, or confess there is no Credit to be given either to your Accusation, or to your Evidence.

But if you would have me accost you in a more polite Manner, I will treat you thus; I will remove that grim, that almost savage old Fellow; I will pitch upon one of these Gentlemen present; your younger Brother rather

Because there her Person was exposed to Insalts on Account of her infamous Character.

ther than any, who is quite a Master in this kind of Politeness; who has a mighty Liking for you, and from a strange natural Fearflulnels, and haunted, I suppose, by some Phantoms in the dark, lay every Night with you, like a little Master as he is with his elder Sifter . Suppose then that he thus accosts you, "Why, my Sifter, in this Flurry? Why " in this Distraction of Mind? Why shrick " out, and make fo much ado about a Trifle? " You have gazed upon your handsome young " Neighbour; his delicate Complexion, his " graceful Shape, his Face and Eyes have smit " you. You wish to see him often; some-" times a Woman of Quality appears in the " fame Gardens; all your Riches can't fix " in your Arms the young Gentleman, though " not yet emancipated from an old griping " Father. He spurns, he spits at, he under-" values your Presents. -- Go somewhere" " else. -- You have Gardens near the Ty-" ber; and have taken great Care to fit up an " Apartment near to where all our young Vol. II. Gentle-

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I am very sensible, that to a Reader of Taste, who has not the Original before his Eye, this Passage may appear too much modernized. But I will venture to say, that the Words cannot be translated otherwise; that if Cicero had been to speak this Passage in English, he would have used the same Expression. The Original is Pusso cum majore Sorore. There is indeed an Insinuation conveyed by the Word Pusso, which I neither chuse to express, nor is it necessary that it should be expressed.

"Gentlemen bathe, from thence you may

read their Proposals. Why do you teaze

one who loathes you?"

LET me now, Calius, address you in your Turn, and here will I personate the Authority and Gravity of a Father: But in what Character of a Father am I to act? In that of the passionate unrelenting Sire in Caeilius?:

——Now all my Soul is in a Blaze,

And my Heart labours with its swelling Pasfrom.

Or, shall I assume that other Character;

O Wretch! O Reprobate!

But these Fathers have Souls of Flint.

What can I say, or what can I propose,

When thy soul Deeds defeat my best Intentions?

The Reproaches of such a Father would be almost intolerable.

Why did'st thou court the Neighbourhood of Whores?

From the gross Baits why didst thou not retire? Why class a lewd Adultress to thy Bosom?

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y This Cacilius was a Comic Poet, and dealt very much is Characters of the grave and morose Kind.

Here squander, dissipate, you may for me.

If griping Want Shall seize thee, thou must mourn.

I have a Competency that will serve To prop the stooping Remnant of my Years.

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To this dif-spirited, decrepid old Man, Calius might answer, that he had been enticed from the right Path, by no Lust of the Eye. But how can you prove that? --- No Extravagance of Expence; no Diminution of Fortune; no running into Debt .- But the Thing was talked of.—But who can help being talked of in a City fo full of Scandal? Is it surprizing that a Neighbour of this Lady should be scandalized, when her own Brother could not escape the Slanders of the Malicious? But to a gentle indulgent Parent, who should talk at this Rate; Has be broke open Doors? They shall be repaired. Has be torn a Garment? It shall be mended. The Boy has a ready Apology, for in fuch Circumstances, how easy is it for one to be vindicated? I speak nothing of this Lady; but if there is one of a Character different from her's, who has been a common Prostitute, who has always lived in an avowed Lewdness with some one or other, who orders her Gardens, Houses, and Bagnios. M 2

Bagnios, to be thrown open to a promiscuous Traffic in every Impurity; who even maintains young Men, whose Purse makes amends for the sparing Allowances of closessifed Fathers; if she is wanton in Widowhood, insolent in Airs, profuse in Wealth, and if her Lusts should lead her into a keeping Expence, can I think a Man an Adulterer, who shall make some free Addresses to such a Lady?

I MAY be told; " Is it thus you train up " young Gentlemen? Did his Father recom-" mend him, when a Boy, and deliver him to " you, that you might initiate his Youth into " Lewdness and Pleasures? Wilt thou be an " Advocate for such a Course of Life and " Studies?" My Lords, if there is a Man endued with fuch Fortitude of Soul, with fuch Dispositions to Virtue and Chastity, as to reject all Pleasures, as to finish his Career of Life with the Toils of the Body and the Pursuits of the Mind; a Man who has no Taste for Repose, none for Relaxation, none for the Pleasures of his Equals, none for Diversions, none for Banquets; who is persuaded that in Life there ought to be no other End proposed that does not unite the Great with the Graceful, I shall freely own, that he is furnished, that he is embellished with certain

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tain supernatural Qualifications. Such as I take it were the Camilli², the Fabricii, the Curii and all those Heroes, who, from a narrow Foundation, reared this Empire to such Glory and Greatness.

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But Virtues, such as theirs, are not now to be found in the Lives, nay, scarce in the Writings of Mankind. Even the very Scrolls which contain this Severity of former Ages, are antiquated, not only with us who have professed such an Institution, and such a Method of Living, more by our Actions than our Words; but even with the Greeks, those very learned Philosophers, who when they could no longer practice what was honest and great in Life, were still at Liberty to recommend it in their Speeches and Writings. Another System of Morality has prevailed, since new Customs were introduced into Greece.

M 3

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Camillus, when drawn into Exile by his Countrymen, succoured his ungrateful native Country, when Rome was seized by the Gauls, and the Capitol besieged. Fabricius refused Money, when offered him by Pyrrbus, and was so excessively poor, that by a Decree of the Senate, he was buried at the Charges of the Public. Curius triumphed over the Samnites, and distributed to every one of the People four Acres of Ground; chusing only so many for himself, because he thought these were sufficient for any one.

The here means the Stoicks,

FOR this Reason some of their Sages maintained, that Pleasure is the ultimate End of the Actions of the Wife; nor have even Men of Learning been averse to that shameful Tenet. Others have thought', that Dignity ought to be united with Pleafure, that they might have an Opportunity to talk Things, which in their own Natures had a direct Repugnancy to one another, into Union. They who maintained, that the only way to Glory was through Toil, are now left almost solitary within their Schools, for many are the Blandishments that Nature herself has implanted within us, and which the Lethargy of Virtue indulges; many flippery Paths does the point out to Youth in which they can scarce either stand or tread, without a Misfortune or a Fall; and great is the pleasing Variety she affords, with which Mankind not only in their Bloom, but even in their Maturity, are apt to be inchanted.

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b These were the Epicureans.

[&]quot; He here has in his Eye one Callipho.

d And deservedly, says Manutius, for having taught that those Pleasures which charm the Soul, are to be abstained from, Eli-"pet, said to Socrates, I, O Socrates, am greater than you; you can deprive me of none of my Gallants, but 1, if I have a Mind, can deprive you of all your Scholars. You are in " the Right, replied Socrates, for you lead afide People into a

[&]quot;Declivity, but I force them to ascend to Virtue; the Way

[&]quot; to which is steep, and trod by few."

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Therefore, if by Chance you find a Man whose Eye despises the Beauty of Order, who indulges no Sensation of Smell, Touch, or Taste, and whose Ears shut out all Harmony, I, and a few others perhaps, may think that the Gods have biessed such a Person, but many more will think that they have cursed him.

LET us therefore abandon this Path which is now defart, uncouth, and chooked with Weeds and Briars; let some Allowances be made to Youth; let it enjoy more Liberty; let not Pleasure be debarred in every Instance; let not Reason, uninfluenced and unbyassed by Paffion, always take Place. To Paffion and Pleasure let Reason sometimes give Way, provided, when that is the Cafe, they are regulated by Decency and Moderation. Let the young Man be tender of his own Chastity: let him not injure that of another; let him not diffipate his Fortune; let him not be eat up by Mortgages; let him not invade another Man's House, nor his Reputation, Let him not aim Slander at the Chaste, Desilement at the Uncorrupted, nor Infamy at the Worthy. Let him terrify none by Violence, nor overreach them by Treachery; let him be free from premeditated Guilt. Laftly, when he shall M 4

shall obey the Calls of Pleasure, when he shall allot some Part of his Time to the Diversions of his Age, and these trisling Pursuits of Youth, let him sometimes recal his Thoughts to the Concerns of his Family, the Concerns of the Forum, the Concerns of his Country, that he may seem to have discarded through Satiety, and despised from Experience, those Objects which he had not before viewed with the cool Eye of Reason.

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AND indeed, my Lords, there have been many great Men and illustrious Citizens in our Days, in the Days of our Fathers and Forefathers, in whom, when the Ebullitions of youthful Defire have subsided, the most excellent Virtues have in more advanced Life fprung up. I need not descend to Particulars. you yourselves may recollect them, for I am unwilling, while I speak of any brave and honourable Man, to join the Mention of his smallest Failing, to the Praise of his greatest Perfection. Did I think myself at Freedom to do this, I might produce Instances of many great and accomplished Persons, and yet touch on the youthful Licentiousness of some, on the ex-

He, perhaps, here means Catulus and Casar; whose Youths were stained with Vices, but who, in advanced Years, were famous for the opposite Virtues.

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extravagant Luxury, the enormous Debt, and expensive Pleasures of others. Vices, which afterwards being effaced by many Virtues, might be excused by the craving Appetite of Youth,

But, Marcus Cælius, for I can now with more Boldness mention his honest Pursuits, fince, presuming on your Wisdom, I have admitted of some Slips in his Conduct, can be taxed with no Luxury, no Extravagance, no Debt, no Lewdness in Revels or Recesses. Age, far from diminishing, even adds to the Lusts of the Belly and the Palate. But Intrigues, and that we call Dalliances, whose Cravings use to be a good deal mortified in Men

Among the Lusts of the Palate the Ancients reckoned Drinking. This was an Excess in which they were still more indulgent to old Men than the Moderns are; nay, from some of their Writings, one would be apt to imagine, that they thought Drinking an inseparable Companion to old Age. Plutarch in his Apophtheyms, brings in Antipater, saying, that Deniades the Orator, when he grew old, compared himself to a Vistim which was consumed all to the Tongue and the Belly. Plato, though he is absolutely against young Men indulging themselves in Wine, yet he is for allowing old Men to go so far as even to forget their Cares, and endeavour to thaw their Blood into a storid Youthfulness. See De Leg. ii. And one of Plutarch's Symposian Questions is, Why do old Men love Wine? The divine Homer has kept up this Character in Nestor, in a very humoursome Line:

Nestopa 9' ux taager iann nivorta nep tumns.

Which Ansonius translates,

Concussit quamvis potantem Neftora clamora

Men of more sedate Understanding (for they soon and suddenly fade,) these never engrossed, never encumbered him. You heard him when he spoke for himself; you heard him before, when he spoke as a Prosecutor; I say this to defend his Person, and not to boast of his Genius; your Wisdom directed you to observe the Nature of his Speech, the Command, the Copiousness of his Periods and Expressions. There you observed in him not only the Essurgence of Genius, (which often, without Cultivation, has irresistible Force) but a Language, if I am not prejudiced in his Favour, directed by Reason, sounded upon laudable Studies, and polished by Care and Vigilance.

And know ye, my Lords, that it is hard to find the Passions which are laid to the Charge of Calius, and those Pursuits which I have illustrated, united in the same Person. For it is impossible that a Mind engrossed by Lewdness, by Amours, by Desire, by Passion, often embarrassed by Wealth, sometimes checked by Want, can support the Activity, nay, the Thinking that is required in forming an Eloquence, even such as mine, however stender it may be.

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Do you imagine there can be any other Reason why there are now, and ever have been, so sew who have applied to the Study of Eloquence, though its Prizes are so tempting, its Practice so bewitching, its Praise, Popularity, and Glory so great? All Pleasures must be spurned away; all delightful Pursuits abandoned; Diversions, Laughing, and Entertainments; nay, my Lords, almost the very Company of our intimate Friends must be relinquished. These are the Hardships that deter Mankind from the painful Study of this Art, and not the Desects either of Genius or Education.

Bur if Calius had abandoned himself to a scandalous Course of Life, would he, while a very Youth, have arraigned a Man of Consular Dignity? Would a Person, if averse to Application, and bewitched with Pleasure, have

Eccess every where takes Occasion to extol the Dignity, and exaggerate the Difficulty of his Art. Several Instances of this the Reader has already had, in the Orations against Cacilius, and for Archias the Poet. And indeed we can easily conceive, not only from the Beauty of his, but of other Orations of Antiquity, that the Study of Eloquence was one of the most difficult, both with Regard to the Exercise of the Body and the Mind. It was the Decay, therefore, of the Severity of Manners, that ruined this Art; for under the Emperors, a quite different Manner prevailed. But for this, see the Preface to this Transslation.

have daily gone through his Exercise on this Parade ? Would he have courted Enmity? Would he have brought Impeachments? Would he have ventured to incur a Capital Danger!? Would he, while all the People of Rome were Spectators, have, during so many Months, struggled either for Sasety or Renown?

But is that Neighbourhood he affected, no ways rank? Does the World whisper? Do the Waters of the Baiæ murmur nothing '? Yes; they don't murmur only, but they roar out, that the Lewdness of this Woman is so barefaced, that she has not now recourse to Solitude, to Darkness, and the blind Haunts of criminal Intercourse, but openly avows the most scandalous Practices, before all the World, and in broad Day. But if any Man thinks, that even simple Fornication' is

Hac Arie, fays my Author.

* This is a very ingenious Allusion of our Author; and in the Manner in which we may suppose he pronounced it, it must have had a great Effect upon the Audience.

This Expression, I own, seems too modernized; a Fault I have still been careful to avoid; but if the Reader will consider the Original, which is Meretriciis amoribus, I hope he will par-

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i By this our Author does not mean the Danger of his Life. For among the Romans, several Punishments besides that of Death were capital, such as Banishment, Fines, Branding; therefore Cicero means, that if he had sailed in his Proof, he was liable to have been convicted in an Action of Calumny, the Punishment for which, by the Roman Law, was what they called Capital.

to be denied to Youth, I own he is very fevere: I dare not contradict him; but I will venture to fay, that by such an Assertion he condemns not only the Licenciousness of this Age, but even the Customs and Indulgencies of our Ancestors. For when was it not practised? When found fault with? When not tolerated? Or, in short, when was there a Time in which a Thing allowable was disallowed? Here will I six the Nature of the Cause; I shall name no Lady, but leave that to your own Conjectures.

Ir a fingle Woman should set her Doors open to the Lusts of the World, and openly profess herself of the Order of Whores, and drive

don it. As to the Morality comprehended in the general Doctrine of this Oration, I shall leave it to be answered by the other Passages of our Author's Writings, after putting him in Mind, that Cicero here talks as a Counsel in a Cause very interesting for himself; and therefore we may presume that he advanced a great many Things on that Occasion, which he would not upon any other; and which he would have consuted, had they been urged by a Party opposite to his Interest.

m This I have translated literally. The Original is, Palamque sele in meretricia vita collocarit. To understand this rightly, it may be necessary to inform the Reader, that a Woman who had a Mind to enter into this Order, was obliged by Law and Custom, to profess or declare her Intention before the Ædiles. After they had done that, they might take Money. It is very probable that the Ceremony of this Profession was fixed to a certain Day of the Year, and that several previous Acts of Devotion were required, such as paying their Vows to Venus, &c.

Apbrodifia bodie Veneris eft feftus dies ; Oratum ierunt deam ut effet fibi propitia.

drive a Trade in making Entertainments for mere Strangers: If the shall practife this in the City, in her Gardens, and amidst the numerous Company at the Baiæ; in short, if the should behave in such a Manner, as that by her Gesture, nay, by her Dress and Equipage, and not only by her Eyes sparkling, or her Tongue tipt with Luft, but by Huggs, by Kiffes on the Water, in the Pleasure-Boat, and at the Banquet, the appears not practifed only, but insolent in Lewdness ; if, I say, a young Gentleman shall be along with such a Woman, give me leave to ask you, Herennius, whether you would confider him as an Adulterer, or a Gallant; as defigning to form her Virtue, or to fatiate her Venery?

Clodia, I now forget my Wrongs ; I now put off all Resentment for the Anguish I bore; I pass over your Acts of Cruelty to my Family while I was absent; let not what I have said be applied to you. But as the Prosecutors

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n The Original is, non folum meretrix, sed etiam procax.

Our Author was fully conscious what a great personal Authority he had in all Courts, and how disadvantageous it was for his Antagonist to be thought to entertain any personal Spite at him: Therefore he never fails to bring in his own Character, in his Pleadings, as often as he can, to influence the Judgment of the Court. As to the Spite which the Clodian Family bore him, see his Oration for his own House, and his Familiar Episles, lib. ii. 14.

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ept ore pretend that they have the Impeachment upon this Affair from you, and that they are to prove the Fact by your Evidence, I demand of yourfelf whether, if there lives a Woman of fuch a Character as I have just now described, mighty unlike indeed to you, but a profest, an avowed Prostitute, you would look upon a young Gentleman who should have an Affair with her, as an abandoned profligate Wretch? If you are not the Woman I have drawn, as I hope you are not, what can they object to Calius? But if they should admit that you are she, why should we dread a Charge which you despise? Give us therefore Liberty and Scope to make our Defence; for either your Chastity will clear Calius from the Imputation of doing any thing flagrant, or your Impudence will be a strong Plea in his, and other Gentlemen's Favour.

But as I feem now to have weathered the Shelves and Shallows of my Speech, the rest of my Voyage appears to be smooth and calm. Calius is charged with two of the most slagitious Crimes against the same Lady, with Gold,

P By this he means the delicate Subject which he had to handle, in extenuating the Gallantry of a young Gentleman, not over famous for Chaftity; and exposing the Character of a great Lady, infamous for Lewdness.

which he is said to have borrowed of Clodia; and with Poison, by which he was to kill her. He, according to the Prosecutors, borrowed the Money, that he might give it to the Slaves of Lucius Lucceius, by whom he was to murder Dio the Alexandrian, who then lived with Lucceius. Heavy is the Charge, either to way-lay Embassadors, or to tamper with Slaves to murder their Master's Guest. This was a Design full of Guilt, full of Audaciousness.

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In this Charge give me leave to ask, whether Calius did, or did not acquaint Clodia with his Purpose in borrowing the Money? If he did not tell her, why did she give it him? If he did, she was intentionally equally criminal with him. What! did you dare to take Gold out of your Shrine? Did you plunder that plundering Venus? of yours of its Ornaments? Especially as you knew to what a detestable Purpose that Gold was to be applied; to the Murder of an Envoy; to fasten

The Statue of Venus appears, from many Passages of the Antients, to have been an indispensable Piece of Furniture in the Closets of Ladies of Pleasure; and it commonly was very finely set out with Jewels: For one of these Ladies to ask for a Jewel for her Venus, from her Gallant, was a genteel Way of asking for a Consideration to herself. Clodia's Venus seems to have been particularly rich.

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an eternal Stain of Infamy upon Lucius Lucceius, a Man of the greatest Sanctity and Integrity: Sure your generous Soul ought not to
have been accessary, your popular Roof: subservient, nor your hospitable Venus assisting to
so detestable a Crime:

Balbus, aware of all this, has told you, that Clodia was in the dark, and being told by Calius, that he borrowed the Gold to dress out the Plays. If he was so intimate with Clodia, as you pretend, by giving so many Instances of his Lewdness, surely he would have told her what he designed to do with the Gold; if he was not so intimate with her, she did not supply him with it. Therefore, O extravagant Woman! if Calius told you true, you was conscious to the Crime which the Gold you gave was to perpetrate; if he did not tell you, then did you not give it.

Why should I confute this Crime by Arguments, which I may bring without Number? I may say, that the Manners of Marcus Calius are far removed from the Blackness of so much Guilt; it is by no means credible that it should enter into the Head of Vol. II.

Because the House was open to all Strangers.

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a Man of so much Capacity, and so much Wisdom, to entrust an Affair so beinously criminal, to strange and unknown Slaves. There are Things which my own Custom. and that of other Pleaders, give me a Right to demand, to interrogate the Accuser: Where Calius, met with the Slaves of Lucceius? How he got Access to them? If by himself? How rash he was? If by another? Name the Man. In the Course of my Pleading, I am at Liberty to go through all the lurking Suspicions. and there would be found no Motive, no Place, no Means, no Confidant, no Reason to hope either to accomplish, or to conceal the Crime, nor even the smallest Trace of so detestable an Action.

But for the Sake of Brevity, and left it should be thought that I have laboured to prepare an Oration, I omit all these, as they are peculiar to an Orator, (though I might have made some Advantage of them, not through any Excellence of my Capacity, but by the Experience and Practice which I have at the Bar) for, my Lords, I have the Evidence of Lucius Lucceius, a Man of the greatest Sanctity.

others, upon personal Characters. If all the Characters he

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Sanctity, and Witness of the greatest Weight: a Man whom you easily allow worthy to be joined with you in the Oath of Integrity : who certainly must have heard, and had he heard, he neither would have flighted, nor put up with fuch a Crime committed by Lucius Calius, against his Honour and Interest. Would a Man, endued with fuch Good-nature, fuch Affections, Arts, and Erudition, have flighted the Danger of the Person whom these very Studies endeared to his Soul? And would he, who would have refented fuch Villainy against a Stranger, have neglected to prevent it, when aimed at his Guest? Would the Man, who would have been afflicted, had it been perpetrated by those whom he did not know, have flighted it, had it been attempted by his own Friends? Would an Action, which had it been committed in a Field, or public Place, must have drawn his Reproaches, have been paffed over by him as a Matter of Indifference. though committed in this City, and under his own Roof? Would a learned Man, when another very learned Man was to be taken off by Treachery, have winked at the Defign, which he would not have passed by had it been

has drawn in this be just, there never appeared any Thing more ridiculous and unconnected, shan this Charge against Calius.

been aimed at a Clown? But, my Lords, why do I keep you any longer? Posses yourselves of the Veracity and Weight of this Witness, on his Oath, and then weigh with Exactness every Tittle of his Evidence. Read the Evidence of Lucceius.

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The Evidence of Lucceius is read in Court.

Would ye wish for more? Do you imagine that Truth and Justice are in Person to give an oral Evidence? This is the Defence of Innocence herself; this is the Speech of Justice; this is the genuine Voice of Truth. The Charge has no Prefumption to Support it. The Crime has no Arguments to prove it. In the Business which is said to be perpetrated, there is not the smallest Appearance of Confultation, of Time or Place; No-body is produced as Witness; No-body named as acceffary: The whole Charge proceeds from the infamous, the cruel, the guilty, the luftful House of an Enemy: but the House which is aspersed with that Imputation of heinous Guilt, is full of Integrity, Humanity, and Truth:

t The Reader is defired to take Notice, that among the Remons written Evidence, though ever so well attested, was not of equal Authority with oral. And indeed if we had the Speeches nade upon this Occasion against Cicero, we would probably find this Circumstance strongly urged against him,

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Truth: From this House an Evidence is read to you upon Oath. But were even the Affair we are now debating dubious; which is more probable, that a rash, impudent, spiteful Woman has forged a Crime, or that a grave, wise, prudent Person, when upon Oath, has given Evidence with the strictest Veracity?

THE Charge of poisoning now only remains to be discussed, of which I can neither see the Foundation, nor unravel the Defign. For what Reason could Calius have to endeavour to poison that Lady? That he might not pay back the Gold? Pray did the demand it? To avoid the Discovery of his Guilt? But who charged him? Who would even have mentioned it, had not Calius impeached a certain Person? But you have likewise heard Herennius own , that he should never have dropt a Word in Prejudice of Calius, had he not twice impeached his Friend, after being once acquitted of the same Crime. Is it then probable that so great a Crime was committed upon

This allides to the Affair of Polla, a Friend of Herennius, whom Celius had accused. From this, and a great many other Passages of the History of that Time, we may see, how frequent Accusations upon Corruption were amongst the Romans; to that there was scarce any Man who succeeded in his Sollicitations for an Office, who escaped that Charge,

upon no Motive? And do you not perceive that a Charge of the most heinous Nature is trumpt up, that there may feem to have been a Motive to perpetrate another Piece of Villainy?

To whom then did he commit the Execution of it? Whom did he make use of as his Accomplice? Whom as his Confidant? Whom did he trust with the Management of a Villainy, that so nearly affected his Reputation and Safety? The Answer is, The Staves of a Woman. And was this Man, whom you admit to have Parts, though you spitefully strip him of every thing else, so stupid, as to put all that was valuable to him in the Hands of strange Slaves? But what kind of Slaves too? For that is a material Circumstance, Why Slaves

w We find by this Passage, which contains a very sensible Respection, in what Awe the Romans stood even of their Slaves, who by their Mistresses were greatly indulged, for fear they should divulge their Intrigues, and other Wickednesses; and indeed it holds true in all Countries, as well as in Rome, that Servants, to whom their Masters introst their secret Vices, cease to be Servants, and commence Masters and Tyrants. This was an Observation made likewise by Juvenal, Sat. III. in these Words:

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Quis nunc diligitur nifi conscius, &c.

And again ;

Nil tibi se debere putat nil conferet unquam

Participem qui te secreti secit bonesti.

Plutarch.

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Slaves who lived in a faucy bold Familiarity with their Miftress; Slaves, whom he knew N 4 enjoyed

Plutarch, in his Thoughts on the Education of Children, has these Words: "Those who are plunged in Vice, dare not take " the Liberty of reprehending their Servants, much less their " Children." St. Jeron has the same Thought, when writing to Salvina, concerning the Continuance in a State of Widowhood: " I know, fays he, that many who live very retiredly, have not " escaped Infamy on Account of their Servants; who were ful-" pected, either for the fake of their rich Drefe, their being cor-" palent and too blooming, their being of an Age fit for the Purpoles of Luft; or lattly, their discovering an overgrown Arrogance, from a fecret Consciousness of their being belov-" ed, as we commonly lay, underhand, which when most wrefully " diffembled, frequently breaks forth in Inftances of Diffain and Contempt towards their Fellow Servants." In Houses, on the other Hand, where the Liaws, Chaffity, and Moderation, are observed, Servants are less indulged, and Masters less beloved; for, as the fame Author writes to Finia, where facred Challity reigns, there Frugality is to be found. But where Frugality is, there the Profits of Servants are small; for whatever they don't get, they think taken from them; neither do they confider how much their Mafter's Income is, but how much they themselves receive. Juvenal, in the 9th Satire, has placed this Matter in a very noble and firiking Light.

Sed prodere malunt
Arcanum quam subropti patare Salerni
Pro populo saciens quantum Lausella bibebat
Vivendum rece, tum propter plurima, sum de bis.
Pracipue causis, ut linguas mancipiorum
Contemnas. Nam lingua mali passima servi,
Deterior tuma bit, qui liber non erit illis.

He had formerly taken Notice of fomething of the fame Nature in the Servants of his Time, in his 3d Satire, in these Words:

Scire valunt secreta domus, atque inde timeri.

Listas to Arcopagiticus speaks thus on the same Subject, $\pi \omega_s$ 8x 8v, &c. "what then! should I not be of all Mortals the most miserable, if I was no longer to treat my Servants as Servants, but to make them my Masters, through the remaining Part of my Life, by letting them into Secrets of this kind; and thus by putting myself out of a Capacity, if they should offend me, of punishing the Offence."

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enjoyed Privileges above the Rank of Slavery. For who, my Lord, does not fee this! or who is not fenfible that in a House, where the Mistress of a Family is a common Prostitute, where nothing is done that may be carried abroad; where a Traffic is carried on in Impurity, Lusts, Luxury, in short in every unheard-of Crime and Scandal, that in fuch a House Slaves are not Slaves, fince to them every thing is entrusted, and by them managed! Who deal in the same Pleasures! Who are let into every dark Scene! And who even partake in some Measure of their daily Expences and Luxuries! Did not Calius then fee this? For if he was so familiar with the Lady as you would have him, he knew like. wife that these Slaves were the Companions of their Mistress. But if he did not enter into fuch Familiarities as you charge him with, how comes he to be so very intimate with her Slaves?

But have they forged a Probability for their poisoning Affair? Whence was it got !! How

^{*} The whole of this Passage is an Imitation of that remarkable Part of his Oration for Cluentius, Quod autem tempus veneri dandi in illo die! in illa frequentia, per quam porro datum! unde sumptum! quæ deinde interceptio poculi! cur non de integro autem datum. Multa sant quæ dici p sunt, sed non committam ut quidear.

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How prepared! By what Means! To whom; and in what Place was it delivered! We are told that he had it at home, and that its Efficacy was tried upon a Slave, who was prepared for the Experiment; and by whose sudden Death he proved the Force of the Venom. Immortal Gods! why do you either sometimes wink at the most heinous Guilt of Mankind? Or why reserve present Villainy to suture Punishment? For I myself saw, I drunk that Draught, the most bitter I ever tasted

widear non dicendo; wolvisse dicera res anim jam sa ipsa desender.

But on that Day, where was the Time proper for administer
ing the Poison? Or where the Possibility of doing it before so

large a Company? Besides, by whom was it given? Or from

what Hand was it got? Where, in fine, is the Probability of

the Cup's being intercepted? If it was so, why was it not ad
ministered asresh? Many Things might be said; but I shall

not by Silence infinuate that I inclined to say them: No, the

Affair is of such a Nature as to speak for itself." I cannot
help observing on this Occasion, that it is not an easy Matter to
discover what Parts of Cicero's Works appeared most beautiful to
himself; for these he is so vastly fond of, that he either repeats
them precisely in the same Words, or else imitates them so closely, that there is scarce a Possibility of distinguishing the one from
the other. Hence a Man may justly conclude his own Taste
good, if he is pleased with such Passages in Cicero, as are either
by him repeated in the same Words, or with little Variation.

y The Art of Poisoning is perhaps the only destructive one, not improved and refined upon by this Age. The Antienta were greater Masters of it than we, with all the Pains we take have Skill enough to be; we see here the making it a Study, and barbarously trying its Experiments upon the human Frame, was not uncommon. The Persians however, and the Egyptians, were still more expert at it than the Greeks; and, if we may believe some latter Historians, the Italian Ladies of the last two Ages, particularly some of the Family of Medicis, were more ingenious

in this Art than them all.

This is an Allusion carried on with regard to the Poison

tasted in my Life, when Quintus Metellus was fnatched from the Arms, from the Bosom of his Country; and when that Man, who thought himself born for this Empire; was in the Bloom of Life, in the Vigour of Health, and the Perfection of Strength, on the third Day after he had been diftinguished in the Senate, in the Rostrum, and in the Government, basely taken off from every good Man and this City; at the very Time of his Death, though in other Respects his Senses were clouded, yet the last Pang he felt was for his Country. When fixing his Eyes upon me, all in Tears, with a broken ghastly Tone, he intimated what a Storm was lowring over this City, and what Distractions were brooding in this Government; and when frequently striking that Wall which was common to Catulus and him, often did he name Catulus, often me, and often, very often, his Country; fo that Death was not near fo bitter to Him, as the Thoughts of his Country, and My being deprived of our best Protection.

HAD

and in a beautiful Figure. Cicero has here touched the true Pathetic, and thrown it into a fine Contrast with a ridiculous Story.

a This might have been more clearly expressed, by translating it, for the good of this Empire. The Original has it, Qui so nature buic Imperio putawit.

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HAD not the fudden Effects of a guilty Draught carried this Hero off, in what Manner, when Confular, would he have opposed his Coulin in the Career of his Furies, fince, in the Hearing of the Senate, when Conful, he declared he would kill him with his own Hand, when but beginning and aiming at his desperate Practices? Shall then a Woman who comes from that very House, dare to mention the quick Operations of Poison? Is not the afraid, left the House itself thould whilper some Discovery! Does the not tremble at the Remembrance of the conscious Walls, and of that fatal, that mournful Night! But let me return to the Charge itself: Though at the Mention of that great, that brave Man, the Tears I shed have weakened my Expression, and the Grief I feel disorders my Senfes.

But still it is not said whence this Poison came, and how it was prepared. They tell us that it was entrusted to Publius Licinius, a virtuous modest young Man, and the Friend of Calius; that an Appointment was made with the Slaves, that they should come to the Senian.

Batb;

b The Senian, or the Kenian Baths, were used by Strang

Bath; that Licinius was likewise to come thither, and deliver to them the Box with the Poison. Here I first ask, to what Purpose could it ferve to carry it to the appointed Place? Why did not these Slaves come to the House of Cahus? If so great Intimacy, so great an Intercourse subsisted betwixt Calius and Clodia, what Suspicion could it have raifed, if the Lady's Slave had been feen at his House? But if Aversion began now to get the better, their Intimacy was at an End, and the Breach proclaimed. This, this was the Source of all this mighty Concern, of all this Guilt, and of all these Crimes. Nay, but fays our Antagonist, when the Slaves discovered to the Lady the Affair, and the criminal Practices of Calius, from the abundance of her Cunning, the ordered them to promife him every thing. But that the might have plain Proofs of the Poison when delivered by Licinius, the ordered the Senian Bath to be the Place appointed, that the might fend fome Friends thither to lye in Ambush, that when Licinius should come in order to deliver the Poison, they might rush out and feize him.

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I THINK, my Lords, there is a very easy Method of confuting all these Allegations. Why should she pitch upon the public Baths, where I don't think there is any Conveniency where Gentlemen in full Dress can be hid? For if they were placed in the Entrance of the Bath, they must be seen; but if they were to thrust themselves into the inner Part, that must be very incommodious for Persons who had on Shoes and upper Garments; and they might not have been admitted, unless perhaps that powerful Lady had trucked her Farthing-Hire with the Bagnio-Keeper', and wheedled herself into his good Graces. And indeed I was mighty full of Expectation that I should know who these good Men and true are, who are faid to be the Evidences that are to prove to a Demonstration the seizing of this Poison; for as yet none of them are named. But I don't doubt but they are Men of great Weight; first, as they are intimate with such

There are in History a great many Keys to this Passage. One is, that Clodia was bilked by a young Fellow, who put her off with Farthings instead of Pieces of Gold, and hence she was nicknamed Quadrantaria. But as the Original has Quadrantaria Permutatione, it would appear, as I have here translated it, to allude to the Bagnio-Keeper trucking his Hire, which was a Quadrant, or a Farthing for every one who used his Bath, for her's, which was the same for every one who oled her Body. This makes the sense clear and confisent, and the Satire extremely cutting.

a Lady; fecondly, fince they had undertaken to squeeze themselves into a Bath, a Favour, that with all the Interest she has, she never could have obtained, but from Men of the strictest Honour, and the most consummate Dignity. But what do I talk of the Dignity of such Witnesses? You have a Proof of their Valour and Fidelity. They lurked in a Bagnio's. Admirable Witnesses indeed! Then they rushed out rashly. Very grave Fellows upon my Word! For thus they have eooked up their Story, " He held the Box in his " Hand; he made an Effay to give it away, " but before he could do it, these noble " nameless Witnesses of a sudden started out; " but that as Licinius was stretching his Hand out to deliver the Box, he drew it back; and the Surprize which these Gentlemen's " fudden Appearance gave him, made him " run away." Great is the Power of Truth, which of herfelf eafily prevails against all. the Abilities, the Cunning, the Industry of Mankind, and against all the Plots of confederated Malice.

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d This was very mean among the Romans, and presents as now with a very humorous Description of the Absurdity and Folly of the Charge against Gains.

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Bur all this idle Tale of that Female Dabler in old pactical Chimerase, how loofe, how improbable, how inextricably perplext is it? For how could fo many Men, for they could not be few, both that the feizing Licinius might be done with Ease, and that the Thing might be proved by a Cloud of Witnesses, suffer Licinius to flip out of their Hands? Where was the Difficulty of taking him when he drew back in delivering the Box, more than if he had delivered it? For they were placed there to lay hold on Licinius, that he might be taken in the Fact, either with the Poison about him, or after he had delivered it. This was all the Woman aimed at: This was all which they whom she employed had to do. Nor indeed can I imagine why you should fay that they jumped out too rashly and too hastily. This was the only Thing required of them; for this Purpose were they placed there, that the Poison, the Plot, in short, the Villainy of the whole Contrivance

The Original has it, Verum here tota fabella veteris & plurimarum fabularum poetria. A Poetria; was a female Dabler in Poetry, who knew just so much of it as served to expose her ignorance in Company. But Giero here applies the Character of Clodia, her adopting the ridiculous Inconsistence of poetic Conceits to a Plot, by which the Liberty of a Reman Gentleman was to be affected.

trivance might appear to a Demonstration. Could they have rushed out at a better Time. than when Licinius came in, than while he held the Box of Poison in his Hand? For had he actually delivered it to the Slaves, the Lady's Friends would have inftantly started out of the Bath and feized Licinius; he would then have protested on his Honour. and have denied that he had delivered that Box; and if he had, how could they have convicted him? Would they have faid that they faw him? In the first place, they must have run the rifque of being themselves convicted of a very heinous Crime; then they must have affirmed that they saw what, from the Place where they were hid, it was impossible they could fee. It follows therefore. that they discovered themselves at the very Instant when Licinius came, when he was producing the Box, when he was stretching out his Hand, when he was delivering the Poison. This then was the unravelling not of a Play, but of a larce, in which, when there

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In the Original, Mimi ergo est jam exitus non fabula. The Mimus was a kind of Harlequinade, expressive of very indecent Postures. They were generally acted extempore, and gave Rise, to the Italian Harlequins, whose Scenes were originally all acted extempore, as indeed all their Comedies were. In the Mimus there was no Manner of Connection or Plot; nothing hung together, and as soon as the Players were out of their Part, or their

there is no Meaning, a Fellow slips out of their Hands, the Castanets rattle, and the Curtain is drawn.

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LET me therefore ask why the Ladies Detachment suffered Licinius, while he was wavering, uncertain, retreating, endeavouring to make off, to escape out of their Hands, why did they not seize him? Why did they not prove to the strongest Conviction, by his own Confession, to the Eyes of many, and upon the very Face of the Thing itself, a Crime fo heinous in its Nature? Were they afraid, fo many against one; the Strong against the Feeble; the Brisk against the dispirited, that they could not get the better? There is no Connection in the Thing, not a fingle Circumstance supports the Allegation, nor could the Crime be ever brought to an Isfue. This whole Cause therefore is transferred from Arguments, from Presumptions, from those VOL. II.

their Humour run aground, then the Harlequin, or the principal Actor, who was generally a very active nimble Fellow, took to his Heels, and the rest going off in Pursuit of him, left the Stage clear. This therefore was a very happy Comparison, which Giacro here falls upon.

In the Original it is, Scabilla concrepant. These Scabilla were a kind of wooden Castenets, which was the Signal for the Scenes being closed.

h The Romans had a Custain too in their Plays, which run across the Stage.

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Circumstances by which the Truth is usually cleared up to the Evidence of Witnesses, such Witnesses, my Lords, as I wait for without the least Apprehension, nay, with some Hope of Delight.

My Imagination longs to see, first the near young Gentlemen, the Gallants of a rich, noble Lady, and then those Heroes posted by their She-Commander in Ambush, and keeping Garrison in a Bagnio. Let me ask then how, or in what Manner, they were concealed? Sure it must be a Cavity, or a Trojan Horse, which admitted and concealed such a Number of invincible Heroes, who were listed to fight a Lady's Quarrel. I will oblige them to declare one Thing; Why so many and so brave Fellows did not either as he was standing, seize, or as he was slying, pursue one Person unattended, and, as ye perceive, unable to result. This, take my Word, they can never

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himself is perjured, but not that the Fact is true.

k This is another beautiful and happy Allusion of our Author's by glancing on the Character of Clodia, as it relembling that of Helen, and comparing the Whole to the Story of the Trejan Horse.

dity of the whole, is extremely conclusive. If, says he, he Whole of this Affair is void of all Probability; full of gross Contradictions and Inconfishencies, it is in vain to import it by oral Proof; for no Witness can make such a Cause the better by swearing to a Fact that is absolutely not only improbable but contradictory; such a Witness may convince one that he himself is perjured, but not that the Fact is true.

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be able to account for, if they shall appear in this Court. I will give them leave to be as facetious and as witty as they please , nay, to be even cloquent over their Cups: But the Practice at the Bar and at the Boards is different; the Arguments urged before a Bench are not the fame with those on a Couch. Judges make a different Appearance from Rioters; and in short, the Light of the Sun is of another Nature than that of Lamps. Therefore, if they shall appear, we shall soon rub off all their Effeminacy, and all their Impertinence. But if they take my Advice, they will play another Game, they will make other Court, they will display their Talents in another Business. Let their Finery make a Figure in that Lady's Train. Let them out-fpend every body elfe. Let them loiter, let them lie let them dance Attendance; but let them not attack the Life and Fortune of an innocent Man.

But it is said that these Slaves are made free by the Advice of Relations, Men of the O 2 greatest

This is a just and beautiful Picture of Nature, in all Age, and Countries, where the Thoughtless and Unheeding, in Affairs of great Consequence, are very useless; but very diverting over a Bottle, or at an Entertainment. Cicero does not blame them for this Character; but if they want Sense and Wit, he addresses them not to want Humanity and Good-nature likewise.

greatest Eminence and Quality. At length it feems we have an Instance, in which this Lady is faid to have done somewhat by the Advice and Approbation of her Relations, who are Men of Spirit and Refolution. But I should be glad to know, what is proved by this Manumission, whereby a Crime is either forged against Calius, or an Opportunity of putting them to the Question taken away, or a reasonable Reward paid to Slaves, who are Masters of a great many Secrets. But the Relations were pleafed with this Step: How should they be otherwise, since you yourself own that you communicated it to them not as a Story brought by others to you, but a Discovery of your own? Are we to be surprized if a Story detestably obscene arose out of this fictitious Box? But nothing can be imagined too bad for fuch a Woman to do. The Thing is talked of, and in every body's Mouth. You now, my Lords, conceive what I incline, or rather what I don't incline to fay. thing was done, it is certain it was not done by Calius. For what End of his could it serve? It has therefore been done perhaps, by some young Fellow, who has more of the Rake than the Fool in him. But if it is all an Imposition, though it is indeed an immodest, yet

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it is a diverting Fiction, yet it never could have met with any Countenance from the Opinion or Talk of the World, were it not that there is no Species of infamous Scandal, which does not appear to be suitable to her Character.

My Lords, I have now gone through and finished my Defence. You now understand the Importance of this Trial, and the Affair under your Confideration. You now proceed upon the Law relating to Violence; a Law that regards our Empire, our Majesty, our Country's Welfare, and the common Safety; a Law " carried through by Quintus Catulus". during an armed Diffention among our Citizens, when the Liberty of this Republic feemed on the Point of expiring, and a Law. which after the Combustion raised in my Consulate was quieted, extinguished the smoaking Remains of treasonable Conspiracy. Upon this Law the Youth of Calius is demanded to fall a Sacrifice, not to the Justice of his Country, but to the Lusts and Lewdness of a Woman.

m This was the Lex Plantia de vi; which comprehended all Riots, and all Attacks upon the public Peace.

It was Catulus who was Contul when this Law was paffed; but it having passed after great Opposition, it was called after the Name of Quintus Plantins, the Tribune of the People, who brought it in.

AND even from this Place the Condemnation of Marcus Camurtus and Cefernus, are brought as Precedents. What monstrous Folly, or rather Impudence, is this? Dare you venture, in parting from the Company of that Woman, to mention the Names of these Men? Dare you revive the Remembrance of fuch an infamous Crime, a Remembrance that Time has not extinguished, but only impaired? For upon what Charge, and for what Guilt were they condemned? Why, for being the Inftruments of this Woman's Resentment, by making an infamous Affault upon the Body of Vettius. Therefore that the Name of Vettins might be heard in this Cause, that an old idle Story' might be furbished up a new, the Case

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It is plain that there two Men had been condemned by the Statute against Riots, for being Accessary to the Marder of the Alexandrian Envoys.

There is likewise great Reason to believe, that they were two infamous Instruments employed by Clodia, for violating the Chastlety of one Vertius, who obstinately refusing to gratify her criminal Defires, incurred her Displeasure and herce Resentment.

In the Original it is, Afrania Fabula. Commentators have a great many Conjectures upon this Passage: The Principal are, That it alludes to one Affranius a Poet, who dealt much in Obfeenities, but had a good deal of Wit. Others, that it alludes to Caia Affrania, a Woman famous for her Impudence, and a Dabler in Poetry. We are told by Valerius Maximus, that she was Wife to Lucinius Bructio; that she never was out of Law Scrapes, but that she always pleaded her own Cause before the Practor, which she did with so loud a Loquaciousness, that her Name

of Camurtus and Cefernus is revived, who though they were in reality not guilty upon the Law against Violence, yet were so involved in that Crime, that it appeared it was impossible to extricate or disentangle them from the Spares of the Law.

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But why is Marcus Calius brought here upon his Trial? He to whose Charge no Crime is laid, that can properly come within the Description of this Law; nor any Crime of any other Kind, which, though without the Meaning of the Law, is within the Reach of your Justice. In his Dawn of Life he applied to that Learning and these Arts, by which we are trained to the Practice of the Forum, to the Service of our Country, to the Attainment of Honour, Glory, and Dignity. He enjoyed O 4

Name became proverbial, especially in the Forum.. She must have been a very notable Woman, for the lived to a good old Age, and, as we understand, retained her loquations Falent to the last.

The original Paffage here, may be well worth the Reader's Confideration, as it will ferve to fix in his Mind the determined Sense of certain Words, which every where occur in our Author; and which, without due Attention, appear to be symminous. The Expression in the Original is, Ad bonorem, gloriam, algorithm. Homer, in this Passage, and all similar Passages in our Author, signifies an external Mark of Respect paid to an Object, by bowing the Knee, the Hand, &c. Law implies a secret Respect, which is not expressed in Words, as Landatio does that which is expressed by Words. Gloria is a Repown for great and signal Actions, which Renown is attended with Respect for the Performer. Dignitas is applied to a Person who unites all these in himself.

the Friendship of those who were more advanced in Years than himself, whose Application and Modesty he designed as the chief Patterns of his Conduct; and in his Intimacy with his Equals, he seemed to pursue Praise, in the Paths which had been trod by the best and the greatest of Men.

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WHEN Years had added a little more Strength to his Person, he went to Africa, where he ferved under the immediate Inspection of the Proconful Quintus Pompeius', a Person of the feverest Integrity, and the strictest Observer of every Duty in Life. In this Province, where his Father had some Effects and Estates, he acquired that provincial Experience which our Ancestors thought proper for all young Gentlemen of his Age. He left it highly approved

In the Original it is, Quinto Pompeio Proconsuli contubernalis. It is uncertain, whether our Author means here, that his Client lived in the same Tent, or was in the Retinue of Quintus Pompeius; or if he does not mean only that he ferved in the same Camp, for the Word Contubernalis will imply all. It is most probable, that he means no more than that he was a Kind of Pupil to the Proconful, who took care while they were encamped to have him always under his Eye.

No Part of the Roman Polity was more commendable than the Care they took in the Education of their Children. As every Roman was intitled to the highest Posts in the Government, to the Parents, who were able to afford it, as in the Cale here of Calin, qualified their Sons by early initiating them into that Course of Life, in which their Ambition might one Day be grat fied.

of by Pompey, as you will learn from himself, He was ambitious from old Precedents, after the Example of those young Men, who have afterwards appeared our greatest Heroes, and our most eminent Citizens, that he might signalize his Parts before the People of Rome, by the Impeachment of some illustrious Offender.

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I could have wished that his Passion for Glory had led him into some other Course; but these Complaints are now over; he impeached my unfortunate Colleague, C. Antonius, to whom an eminent Service to his Country was unavailing; but the Notion of intended Treason proved prejudicial. He afterwards yielded to none of his Equals, either as to the Multiplicity of his Affairs in the Forum, of Business and Causes which he managed for his Friends, or in the Affections and Esteem

This one should think now, an ungrateful ill-natured Way of rising to Power; yet there was nothing recommended a Roman Patriot more to his Fellow Citizens, than a frequent Exercise of the Right of impeaching illustrious Offenders. The Nature of their Laws very much favoured this Practice, and it was very difficult for the greatest Men amongst them to kreen themselves from a Profecution, however easy it might be, by corrupting the Judges, or the People, for them to be acquitted.

This was the same Antony who was Cicero's Colleague at the Time of Catiline's Conspiracy, whom Calius accused of corrupt Practices upon Antony's returning from the Province of Macedonia, where he had been Proconful.

of his Relations. Advantages, which, as they can be attained only by the Vigilant, the Sober, and the Industrious, to be gained them all by Labour and Diligencono berough shiswish

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our most emineut Chizgos, that be mis In this, what we may call the Tarn of Life, for I will conceal nothing, as I have the greatest Dependance upon your Good-nature and Wisdom, the Carear of his youthful Glory met with a small Rub, from his new Acquaintance with a Lady, onhappily his Neighbour, and himfelf unpractifed in Pleafores, which when a little too long confined, checked, or curbed in the Beginning of Life, fometimes all of a fudden pour themselves out, and break forth with all their Force. From this Life, or let me rather fay from this Scandal, (for there was a great deal more Talk about it than it deserved) or from whatever it might be, he emerged, he wholly raised himfelf above it; and so far is he now from deserving the Infamy of her Familiarity, that

W Orig. In boc flexu qualicitatis. This is a beautiful Allusion to the turning the Goal in the Races of Chariots during the Exhibition of public Shows. As the Turning is that Part of the Career which requires the most Address to manage, so in the Career of Life, there are certain Turns, especially betwixt Youth and Manhood, in which it requires great Address to avoid meeting with a Rub.

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that he buffers the Stream of her Spite and Malice; on Richnets of his Priends, the Richnets of his Priends,

Fourbard, and the Delicacy And that he might quite wipe away every Imputation of Effeminacy and Sloth, he did a Thing much against my Inclination and my Endeavours to prevent it, yet he did it; he impeached a Friend of mine of Corruption. After he was acquitted he renewed the Charge; he minded none of us: He is more hot than I could with him to be. But I don't fresk with regard to his Wifdom, which is feldom possessed by one of his Years; I speak of the Impetuolity of his Spirit, his Eagerness to get the better, and the Passion of his Soul for Glory; all which, with Men of our Years, ought to be more confined; but in Youth, as in Vegetation, they prognosticate what a Ripeness of Virtue, and what a plentiful Harvest is to spring from their Industry. And indeed young Men of great Genius have need cather of a Curb from, than a Spur to Glory at that Age, if it be fed by Applause, from their eminent Parts a great deal more is to be lopped than ingrafted. Therefore if Calius appears too fiery, too fierce, too head-strong, either in creating or profecuting his Animofities; if the most Inconsiderable here are in the least difgusted

cack of the elaterists which

disgusted by the Splendor of his Habit, the Numbers of his Friends, the Richness of his Equipage, and the Delicacy of his Person, let me tell them, that all these will soon subside, Age, and a certain Period of Life, will soon correct them.

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PRESERVE therefore, my Lords, to the Service of his Country, a Citizen whose Accomplishments are virtuous, whose Principles are virtuous, and whose Friendships are virtuous. This will I promise to you; and for this do I answer to my Country, provided I myself have given Satisfaction to the State, that his Conduct shall be never different from Time. This I promise both on account of the Dependance I have on his Friendship, and because he has laid himself under the severest Obligations to sulfil it.

For it is impossible that he who has impeached a Man of Consular Dignity upon a Violation

The Expression in the Original is purpura genus; for the Romans minded more the Colour and Brightness of their Cloaths, than the Fineness of the Materials which composed

^{*} The Romans generally, when they appeared under Trial, wore very mean Habits. It is uncertain whether Cicero means to obviate a Prejudice which might lie against Cælius, who perhaps was very gaily dressed upon his Trial, or if it was to excuse him for the general Delicacy and Luxury for which he was distinguished.

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Violation of the Laws of his Country, should be a turbulent Subject of the State. It is impossible that he, who would not suffer the same Person to go free after he was acquitted, should ever himself with Impunity employ the Arts of Corruption. The Common-wealth, my Lords, has of Marcus Calius two Impeachments, as Hostages that he will never endanger her, and as Pledges that he will always ferve her. Therefore, I beg and conjure you, my Lords, that in the City in which within these few Days Sextus Clodius, was acquitted whom for two Years ye have feen either the Tool or the Leader of Sedition, who with his own Hand burnt down a confecrated Temple, the Register of Rome, and the Archives of her Government, a Man destitute, dishonourable, desperate, inconstant, and inconfiderable; whose Mouth, whose Tongue, whose Hand has been polluted through all his Life; who destroyed the Monument of Catulus, demolished my House, burnt that of my Brother; who in the Palatium, and in the View of all Rome, raised the Slaves to massacre our Citizens, and burn the City. Do not in the same City suffer him to be acquitted through

y This is the same we read so much of in the Oration for Milo.

through the Interest, and Marcus Calius to be facrificed to the Lusts of a Woman, lest it should appear that the same Woman, and her Husband-Brother, have had the Interest to deliver a scandalous Russian, and to ruin a most excellent young Man.

And while you view his Youth, do you place before your Eyes the stooping Age of this wretched old Man, propt by this his only Son, hoping mothing but forthim, fearing nothing but on his Account. Support him, if ever we knew the Duties of a Son, if ever ye felt the Earnings of a Barent now imploring your Mercy, submitting to your Power, and here profirate, not to footh your Bride, but to touch your Compassion. Let the Sorrows which both feel, awaken within you every Sentiment of filial Riety, and every Pang of paternal Love. Letinot, my Lords, your Severity, fooner than his own Deftioy, defroy the one, who by the Course of Nature is now dropping into Diffolution; nor letit, like, a nipping Wield, or fudden Blast, blight the other just blooming.

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This is a bitter Sneer upon Claudius, whom our Author elsewhere calls a Jupiter, for his having the same Woman both a Sister and a Wife.

The rest of this Peroration is so extremely beautiful, that it is no Wonder the Event was favourable to Calius, soho was acquitted.

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PRESERVE the Son to the Parent; the Parent to the Son; thus shall ye not appear to have despised an old Age now almost hopeless and helpless, and to have refused to cherish, nay, to have nipped and blasted a Youth of the most promising Hopes, whom if you preserve to yourselves, to his Friends, to his Country, you preserve a Man devoted, dedicated, attached to you and your Children; and you, my Lords, you shall chiefly reap the mature and lasting Fruits of all his Toils, and all his Labours.



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ARGUMENT.

OUR Author has in the following Oration so copiously treated the Subject upon which it was pronounced; that there is very little either Occasion or Room for an Argument. It may be sufficient to inform the Reader, that he will find Cicero in this Oration talking in a very different Strain from what he does in some of the preceding. Cæsar was now dead, and Cicero commenced a firm intrepid Patriot. As such be opposed Anthony, whom be thought the most dangerous and likely Man to pursue and finish Cafar's Defigns. Accordingly the Intention of this Oration, which was pronounced in the Senate, was to put the Senate upon its Guard against Anthony, who was jealous that our Author's Interest might very much influence the Senate against bim.

This Oration was pronounced in the Year of Rome 709; and of our Author's Age 63.

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M. T.

CICERO's

FIRST

ORATION

AGAINST

M. ANTONIUS.



EFORE I touch , Fathers Confcript, upon these public Concerns, which I now intend to submit to your Consideration, I shall in a few Words lay before

you my Conduct both in my Departure and my Return.

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² Our Author here, does not, as he commonly does, introduce his Oration with an Exordium; this Oration being of the deliberative Kind: And Cicero knew that the Hearers came prepared for the Occasion, and were apprized of the Importance of the Case.

WHEN I had some Grounds to hope that the Government was at last reverted to your Order and Authority, I determined to remain on a kind of a Consular and Senatorial Watch ; nor did I once go off my Post, nor did I once call off my Eyes from the Concerns of my Country, eyer fince the Day on which we met in the Temple of Tellus, where I did all I could to lay the Foundation of Peace, and for that Purpose I revived an ancient Usage of the Athenians. I likewise adopted the Greek Term, formerly used by that People in composing the Commotions of their City; and I delivered my Sentiments for burying all Remembrance of Civil Discord in perpetual Oblivion.

Specious on that Occasion was the Language of Marcus Antonius, strong was his P 2 public

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b This has an Allusion to a Soldier's standing Centry, and obferving a particular Post or Charge. Such a Manner has a prodigious Instuence upon the Hearers, and no body who reads it now, but must be touched with the pathetic Sentiment that it contains.

After Cesar's Death, Anthony managed with great Address, and even out-witted our Author, and the other Friends of the republican System of Government. He pretended a mighty Zeal for the Liberties of Rome, and appeared so warm, that he not only out-did the greatest Patriots in Zeal, but sent his only Son as a Pledge to the Conspirators, of their being in Sasety to come to the Senate.

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Our Shakespeare has wonderfully hit on the Character of Anthony, in his celebrated Play of Julius Cafar, which, as it may he a Key to the Reader in the following Orations, I shall here transcribe.

After Cæfar is killed, Anthony is introduced.

Ant. O mighty Cafar, dost thou lie so low? Are all thy Conquests, Glories, Triumphs, Spoils, Shrunk to this little Measure? - Fare thee well. I know not, Gentlemen, what you intend, Who elfe must be let Blood? Who else is rank? If I myself, there is no Hour so fit, As Cafar's Death's Hour; nor no Infruments Of half that Worth as those your Swords made rich With the most noble Blood of all this World. Vigorone I do beseech ye, if ye bear me hard, Now, whilst your purpled Hands do reek and smoke, Fulfil your Pleasure. Live a thousand Years, I shall not find myself so apt to die: No Place will please me so, no Mean of Death, As here by Cafar, and by you cut off, The choice and mafter Spirits of this Age. Bru. O Anthony! beg not your Death of us: Tho' now we must appear bloody and cruel; As, by our Hands, and this our present Act, You fee we do; yet fee you but our Hands,

And this the bleeding Bufmess they have done : 13 25 43 Our Hearts you see not, they are pitiful; (And Pity to the general Wrong of Rome As Fire drives out Fire, fo Pity Pity) Hath done this Deed on Cafar: For your Part, To you our Swords have leaden Points, Mark Anthony; Our Arms exempt from Malice, and our Heart Of Brother's Temper, do receive you in With all kind Love, good Thoughts, and Reverence.

Caf. Your Voice shall be as strong as any Man's

In the disposing of new Dignities.

Bru. Only be patient till we have appeas'd The Multitude, beside themselves with Fear; And then we will deliver you the Cause, Why I, that did love Cafar when I struck him. Proceeded thus.

-I doubt not of your Wisdom. Let each Man render me his bloody Hand;

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most worthy Citizens, was confirmed by him and his Children. Every thing that then followed

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First, Marcus Brutus, will I shake with you; Next, Caius Cassius, do I take your Hand; Now, Decius Brutus, yours; now yours, Metellus; Yours, Cinna; and, my valiant Casca, yours; Tho' last, not least in Love, yours, good Trebonius, Gentlemen all-alas, what shall I fay? My Credit now stands on such slippery Ground, That one of two bad Ways you must conceit me: Bither a Coward, or a Flatterer. That I did love thee, Cafar, oh, 'tis true; If then thy Spirit look upon us now, Shall it not grieve thee, dearer than thy Death, To fee thy Anthony making his Peace, Shaking the bloody Fingers of thy Foes, Most Noble! in the Presence of thy Corpse? Had I as many Eyes, as thou haft Wounds, Weeping as fast as they stream forth thy Blood, It would become me better, than to close In Terms of Friendship, with thine Enemies, Pardon me, Julius, - here wast thou bay'd, brave Hart; Here didft thou fall, and here thy Hunters stand Sign'd in thy Spoil, and crimfon'd in thy Death. O World! thou wast the Forest to this Hart; And this, indeed, O World, the Heart of thee. How like a Deer, striken by many Princes, Doft thou here lie?

Caf. Mark Anthony. Ant. Pardon me, Caius Cassius; The Enemies of Cæsar will say this; Then in a Friend, it is cold Modesty.

Caf. I blame you not for praising Cafar fa; But what Compact mean you to have with us? Will you be prick'd in Number of our Friends, Or shall we on, and not depend on you?

Ant. Therefore I took your Hands; but was indeed Sway'd from the Point, by looking down on Cafar.

Friends am I with you all, and love you all, Upon this Hope, that you shall give me Reasons, Why, and wherein Cafar was dangerous.

Brut. Or else this was a savage Spectacle. Our Reasons are so full of good Regard, That were you Anthony, the Son of Cafar,

lowed was agreeable to this Beginning. fum-

You should be satisfied. Ant. That's all I feek; And am moreover Suitor, that I may Produce his Body to the Market-place. And in the Pulpit, as becomes a Friend, Speak in the Order of his Funeral. Brut. You shall, Mark Anthony. Caf. Brutus, a Word with you -You know not what you do; do not consent That Anthony speak in his Funeral. Know you, how much the People may be mov'd By that which he will utter? Brut. By your Pardon, I will myself into the Pulpit first, And shew the Reason of our Casar's Death, What Anthony shall speak, I will protest He speaks by Leave, and by Permission; And that we are contented, Cafar shall Have all due Rites, and lawful Ceremonies; It shall advantage more than do us wrong. Cas. I know not what may fall; I like it not. Bru. Mark Anthony, take you Cafar's Body : You shall not in your Funeral Speech blame us, But speak all good you can devise of Cafar; And fay you do't by our Permission: Elfe should you not have any Hand at all About his Funeral. And you shall speak In the same Pulpit whereto I am going,

Ant. Be it so: I do defire no more.

After my Speech is ended.

Brut. Prepare the Body then, and follow us.

Exeunt Conspirators.

Manet Antbony.

Ant. O pardon me, thou bleeding Piece of Earth! That I am meek and gentle with these Butchers. Thou art the Ruins of the noblest Man, That ever lived in the Tide of Times. Woe to the Hand that fined this coftly Blood! Over thy Wounds now do I prophely, (Which, like dumb Mouths, no ore their ruby Lips, To beg the Voice and Utterance of my Tongue)

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fummoned the principal defenders of the State to affift at the Consultations which he held in his House upon the public Emergencies. To this Assembly he made excellent Proposals; nor at that Time was there any thing discovered in Casar's Journals, but what every body knew of, and he answered every Question put to him with the greatest Gravity and Consistence.

P 4

ARE

A Curse shall light upon the Limbs of Men; Domestic Fury, and serce civil Strife, Shall cumber all the Parts of Italy; Blood and Destruction shall be so in Use, And dreadful Objects so familiar, That Mothers shall but smile when they behold Their Infants quartered by the Hands of War; All Pity choak'd with Custom of sell Deeds; And Casar's Spirit, ranging for Revenge, With Ate by his Side, come Hot from Hell, Shall in these Consines, with a Monarch's Voice, Cry Havock, and let slip the Dogs of War; That this soul Deed shall smell above the Earth With carrion Men, groaning for Burial.

In the Latin it is Principes Civitatis. Cicero very often uses the Word Princeps; but always when applied in a political Sense to fignify a leading Man. However, as it was a techinal Kind of Word, it may not be amiss to give here his own Definition of it in his Oration for Sextius.

Horum (optimatium) qui voluntati commodis, opinioni, in gubernanda republica serviunt, desensores optimatium ipsique optimates gravissimi & clarissimi cives nominantur & Principes Civitatis.

o Our Author here seems to play upon the Word Commentaries, alluding to the History which Casar wrote under that Denomination. Perhaps, if the English Language had not already adopted the Word Commentaries to fightly the History of Casar, this might have been as well translated Memoirs.

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ARE any Exiles restored? One', answered he, and but one. Are any Immunities granted? None, said he. He even wanted that we should agree to the Motion made by the illustrious Servius Sulpitius, that no Bill, containing either a Decree or a Grant of Caius Cafar, after the ides of March, should be posted up. I pass over many other illustrious Actions; for I now hurry on to mention an unparalleled Action of Marcus Antonius. He utterly abolished out of the Constitution the Dictatorship, which had for some Time posfessed itself of regal Power. Upon this Point we did not so much as declare our Sentiments. He produced an Act of the Senate ready drawn up in the Manner in which he wanted

Ut Casare petes ut Sextum Clodium restitueret; impetravi; erat mihi in animo etiam tuum, sic uti benesicio, si tu concessisses quo magis laboro, ut tua voluntate id per me facere nunc liceat.

" can do it with your Leave."

This Person was Sextus Clodius, whom we heard so much of in the Oration for Milo: It seems he was living in Banishment in the Time of Cæsar's Dictatorship, having been sound guilty upon the Law against Riots at the Time of that samous Trial. (See Asconius's Argument, and the Oration for Milo) We have a Key to the History of his being recalled in the 14th Book of the Epistles to Atticus, where we meet with a Letter from Anthony while Consul, to Cicero, by which it appears that Cicero had applied to Anthony for his good Offices with Cæsar, for Clodius being recalled from Banishment. The Passage is as sollows:

[&]quot;You beg of Casar, says he, that he would recall Sexus Clodius; I have obtained it; I had such a Thing in my Thoughts even when you applied, provided you had given Consent; I labour now the more earnestly for it; as I now

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and implicitly complied with his Motion, and by another Act we returned him Thanks in the most magnificent Terms. A certain Beam of Light now seemed to spring by the Abolition not of Royalty only, to which we had actually been subjected, but by delivering us from the Dread of its ever being restored. Great was the Pledge which he gave to his Country, of his being willing that she should retain her Liberty, since he utterly eradicated out of the State the very Name of Dictator, though it had been often legal; so great was his Abhorrence of the late perpetual Dictatorship.

THE Senate, a few Days after, seemed to be free from every Apprehension of Bloodshed. The Fugitive Impostor, who had usurped the Name of Caius Marius, was dragged by the Hook to Execution⁵. These Transactions

were

Pone domi lauros, duc in capitolia magnum Cretatumque bovem; Sejanus ducitur unco, Spectandus.

There is a very contemptuous Expression here in the Original: Uncus impassus est, a Hook was drove into him; alluding to the Ignominy of dragging a very obscure Offender, who was a Prisoner of State, by a Hook to the Scale Gemoniane, and hurling him into the Tyber. This was sometimes performed in Effigy. We read of a very wicked Minister being served in that Manner. Juvenal, speaking, Sat. x. of Sejanus.

were carried on in common with his Colleague; the rest were done by Dolabella only; but had Antonius been present, I am presuaded they would have been in common to both. For when an universal Contagion had infinuated itself into the City, and was daily extending its infectious Instuence, and the very Men who had performed a Funeral without an Interment, were erecting a Monument in the Forum; and desperate Citizens, with Slaves of the same Dispositions, threatened every Day louder and louder the Destructions of the Buildings

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This fomewhat resembles our Execution in Effigy. Horace mentions, Lib. i. Ode 31, the Uncus Severus. Juvenal again, Sat. 13. the Uncus nigri Carceris. Ovid in Ibim.

> Carnificisque manus populo plaudente traberis Inflexisque tuis ossibus uncus erit.

h The History alluded to here, is as follows: After Casa's Death, the Populace hearing of the Donations he had be queathed, and artfully spirited up by certain Agents perhaps of Ambony, idolized his Memory. For this Purpose they reared a Pillar twenty Feet high in the Forum, and inscribed to PARENTI PATRIE: On this Pillar they sacrificed for a long Time; made Vows before it; and decided certain Law-Suits by one of the Parties swearing by the Name of Casar. But as these were but the very Dregs of the People, Dolabella, who was at that Time Colleague with Authory in the Consulate, razed the Pillar to the Ground; those Slaves who had been instrumental in rearing and worshipping it, he crucissed, and the Citizens he threw from the Tarpeian Rock.

The People tumultuously, as the Faction of Clodius had done before, (see the Oration for Mile) burned the Body of Cesar with the Forms and Seats, Sc. which they plucked from the Courts of Justice that surrounded the Forum. Thus, though the Body of Cesar had a Burial, yet it had not those Rites performed which constituted a formation of the Rites performed which constituted a formation of the constituted of th

formed which constituted a Funeral.

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Buildings and Temples of this City; yet so strict was the Eyes that Dolabella kept, both on the profligate Insolence of the Slaves, and the unnatural Pollution of the Citizens; and such the Resolution he discovered on demolishing the execrable Pillar they had erected, that to me it is surprising a subsequent Conduct should be so little of a Piece with the Transaction of that single Day.

For behold, by the first of June, the Day on which he summoned us to meet, every thing was altered. Nothing done by the Senate; many Things and those of great Consequence, by himself, in the Absence, and against the Inclinations of the People. The Consuls elect declared, that they durst not venture to come into the Senate; the Deliverers of their Country were banished from the City, whose Neck they had freed from a servile Yoke; yet were they praised by the Consuls themselves in all their Assemblies, and in their private Conversation. The Veterans, as they

are

k There is a very great Discrepancy among the Commentators upon this Passage. Some think that Cicero calls them Veterans by way of Derision, with a Sneer. But Gravius interprets the Words Qui Appellebantur, to signify who were called in. This is more agreeable both to Historical Truth, and to what Cicero hints afterwards when he speaks of Anthony's Council at Law, which could be probably no other than these Veterans, whom he called in to avenge Casar's Death, under whom they had served, and under whom they had obtained Allotments of Lands.

are called, whom this Body had so well provided for, were spirited up, not to guard their present Possessions, but to hope for suture Plunder. As I chose rather to be an Ear, than an Eye-Witness of such Events, and had obtained the Privilege of an unlimited Deputation. I departed with a Resolution to assist in the Senate on the Calends of January, which in all probability was to be the first Day of our next Session.

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HAVING thus, Fathers Conscript, laid before you the Reasons of my Departure, give me leave, in a very few Words, to acquaint you with the Motive of my Return; which has in it somewhat more surprizing. After, not without Reasons of my own, I had avoided going to Brundusium, and quite struck off from the high Road to Greece; on the 1st of August I landed at Syracuse, because I had heard the Passage from thence into Greece mentioned

This Deputation Cicero obtained from the Conful Dolabella, and it gave him a Right to certain Marks of Respect and Privilege, which he otherwise must have been deprived of.

m Brundusium was the Sea-port where the most commodious Passage was over to Greece and Epirus. Our Author has here a very broad Infinuation, as if Anthony, or some of Cæsar's Abettors, hearing of his Intention to travel into Greece, had way-laid him to cut him off at Brundusium, where it was probable he would take shipping.

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mentioned as the best. Yet that City " though I have a very great Friendship for her, with all her Intreaties, could not prevail with me to stay above a Night. I was afraid that for fudden a Visit to my Friends, if I should tarry with them any time, might give fome Umbrage. But when I was driven by Strefs! of Weather from Sicily to Lucopetra, a Promontary in the Territory of Rhegium, I fet fail from that Place, with a Defign to go over; but I had made but very little Way, when a Southerly Wind drove me back to the fame Port.

As it was late at Night, I lodged at the House of Publius Valerius, my Companion and Friend, and passed all next Day likewise with him, waiting for a Wind. A great many of the Corporation of Rhegium, and some of them come lately from Rome, came to see me. From these I first got a Copy of Antonius's Speech, which gave me so much Pleasure in reading, that I began to have some Thoughts of return-

Ordends of de Civil War that the

[&]quot; We have feen in the Oration against Cacilius, in the first Volume, how popular Cicero was among the Sicilians, and how easily he might have made a Party there. Perhaps it is not very much in Favour of his Courage and Patriotifm, that at a Juneture so critical to the Liberties of his Country, he did not take Care to make a better Use of his Interest there, than we find by this Passage he did.

ing. Soon after the Edict of Brutus and Cassius was brought me, which, perhaps because I love them more on a public than a private Account, I thought was highly equitable. They likewise told me (for it often happens that they who want to bring any good News, make some Additions of their own to render it still more agreeable) that Matters were to be made up, that there was to be a full Session of the Senate by the 1st of August. That Antonius having discharged his wicked Advisers, and dropt his Pretensions to the Provinces of Gaul, would again submit to the Authority of the Senate.

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This Manifesto was probably published by them, as a counter one to that published by Ambony. In Book xvi. of our Author's Epistles to Attieus, Ep. 7. he says, Antonii editum bei a Bruto, S borum contra; scriptum proclare; sed quid ifia edida valeant, aut quo speciant plane non video.

"I have got from Brutus, and read, the Manifesto by Anthony, and theirs published against him; it is indeed prettily drawn up; but what the Significancy, or what the Purposes of

thefe Edicts are, to tell you the Truth, I can't fee."

We have in Velleius an Account, that Brunes and Gaffius published a Manifesto, offering, that if it could be of any Service for securing the Peace of their Country, and preventing the Civil Wars from being renewed, they would willingly live in perpetual Banishment.

p One of the great Grounds of the Civil War that broke out upon Cafar's Death, was by Anthony's endeavouring to transfer to himself the Government of the two Gauls; the one of which had been decreed to Numantius Plancus, the other to Decimus Plancus. These Pretensions on the Part of Anthony being dropped, there was great Reason for our Author's entertaining Hopes of an Accommodation being brought about.

So fanguine were my Hopes upon this, that neither Sails nor Winds were fufficient to answer my Impatience; not that I thought I could be here in Time, but I wished not to be among the last to congratulate my Country. In a short Time I arrived at Welia, where I saw . Brutus'; with what Anguish I saw him I will not fay. Ill, I thought, did it become me to dare to return to that City from which Brutus was retiring, or to feek my Safety where Brutus could not find his. But in a far different Manner was he affected from me; for fupported by the Consciousness of the great, the gallant Action he had performed, much did he complain about our Misfortunes; nothing about his own.

FROM

I Our Author never misses any Opportunity to put his Patriotism in the strongest Light; but I could have wished that a Man of his Importance had thought sit to have staid by the Helm of the Government at this tempessuous Time, rather than have committed himself to the Winds and Waves, to seek a safe Retreatin a foreign Country, and to the same Winds and Waves as soon as he could have a safe Abode in his own Country. In this he acted a good deal like a Scholar and a speculative Virtuose; but I doubt much if he acted as a Patriot of Consular Dignity.

This Interview is exceeding moving, and our Author's Reflection cannot fail of touching every Breaft, which is capable of entertaining the least Sentiment of a brave unfortunate Man. How amiable does this Character of Bratus appear; how much more amiable would it have appeared, had he killed any Tyrant, but one who had the Virtues, the Qualities, the Dignities, and the Soul of Cafar!

FROM him I first knew the Nature of the Speech, delivered on the 1st of August to the Senate by Pifo, who, he told me, was but ill feconded by those who ought to have acted otherwise. Yet as the same Brutus owned, and could any thing be of greater Weight? And as every body, I afterwards faw, declared to me, it appeared that he had acquired great Glory. I therefore made Dispatch, that I might fecond him, who was unfeconded by those who were in the Assembly? not that I could be of any Advantage to him, (for that I did not expect to be, nor indeed could I contribute to it) but that if I should happen to share in the Lot to which Humanity is subjected, (for a great many Things out of the ordinary Course of Fate and Providence feemed

This is a fine Praise of our Author's own public Spirit, and at the same Time an oblique Reslection upon Anthony and his Faction, as if they thought him too dangerous a Man to live.

The Original here is curious, and deserves the Reader's Attention; the Words are as follow: Sed ut si quid mibi bumanitus accidisset, multa autem impendere præter naturam præterque satum bujus tamen diei wocem banc testem reipublicæ relinquerem miæ perpetuæ erga se woluntatis.

Aulus Gellius has given us an instructive Commentary upon

these Words, which I cannot help transcribing.

An utrumque idem valere voluerit fatum & naturam, & duas res ανθ' ένος υποκειμένα πεπρωμένην και φυσιν; an verò diviferit seperaritque, ut alios casus natura ferre videatur, alios fatum, considerandum equidem puto. Atque id maxime requirendum, qua ratione dixerit accidere multa humanitus posse præter fatum; quando sic ra-

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feemed to threaten) that I might at least bequeath to my Country my Speech on this Occasion, as an eternal Evidence of the Affection I owe her: As, Father's Conscript, I hope you approve of my Conduct in both Steps, before I enter upon the Affairs of the Public, give me leave to enter a short Complaint upon Yesterday's injurious Behaviour of Marcus Antonius, to whom I am well disposed, as I always professed myself to be, on account of some Obligations I lie under to him.

But what then could be the Cause, why Yesterday I was so rudely pressed to assist in the Senate? Was I the only one who was absent? Are ye not often a much thinner House? Was your Business of such Consequence, that Vol. II.

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tio, & ordo, & inseparabilis quædam fati necessitas constituitur, ut emnia intra fatum claudenda sint; nisi illud sane Homeri secutus est:

Mi xai vaip Moiear Sopor Ais icapinnai.

Ne præter fatum accidas Plutonis ad ædes.

Nihil autem dubium est quin violentam & inopinam mortem signiscaverit; quæ quidem potest recte videri accidere prater naturam. Sed cur id quoque genus mortis extra fatum pojuerit, neque operis bujus est explorare, neque temporis.

Our Author touches very gently here, upon the monstrous Insult offered him by Anthony: But in the following Oration the Reader will find a Kind of Apology for this gentle Treate

there was a Necessity of carrying thither even the Sick? Hannibal sure was at the Gates; or ye were on a Debate about a Treaty with Pyrrbus; a Debate to which, we are told, the great Appius, old and blind as he was, was carried: You had Supplications under your Consideration; and in Debates of this Kind there are generally abundance of Senators present, not from any View of saving their Forseitures, but of gratifying the Parties whose

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The Consternation Rome was in at the Approach of Hamibal, and the Deliberation upon a Peace with Pyrrbus King of Epirus, were Events so famous in the Roman History, that they became proverbial to imply any great Event.

w As an Explication of this Passage will give the Reader some. Light with Regard to the Constitution of the Roman Senate, we

judge this Account will be very acceptable to him.

The Conful fometimes obliged the Senators to lodge certain Pledges in their Hands, which they were to lose whenever they refused Obedience to the Commands of the Conful. A little after Cafar expostulates the Matter thus : Quis autem unquam tanto damno senatorem cægit. Aut quid est ultra pignus, aut mulcum. Who, fays he, ever compelled a Senator to Compliance by a Loss so considerable? In what other Shape can he be punished in this Case, than by a Fine, or the Loss of his Pledge? They not only forced the Senators by these Pledges to attend the Senate, but likewise to humour them in other Respects. Plutarch gives us the following Account of this Fact: " Next Day, fays he, Anthony " holding a Senate, and defiring Cicero to attend, Cicero did not " attend, but took his Bed, feigning to be indisposed on the "Road. It was conjectured that Cicero suspected some Snare, from some Intelligence he got by the Way. Anthony took this as a great Affront, and sent Soldiers, with Orders either to bring him, or set the House in which he was on Fire; but "when Number interceded for him, and pleaded in his Behalf, " Anthony was satisfied, by making Cicero lose his Pledge." Thus far Plutarch. But this Account is quite inconfiftent with Cicero's own, who, though he endeavours to heighten and exaggerate the injurious Treatment of Authory, neither mentions

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whose Honours are under Debate; the same thing likewise happens when a Triumph is the Question. So unconcerned are the Confuls in a Point like this, that a Senator is almost at Liberty to be absent. As I was no Stranger to this Custom, and a good deal fatigued with my Journey, and uneasy in my own Thoughts, as a Friend, I fent a Person to him to make my Excuse. But in your Hearing he declared that he would come in Perfon to my House, with Workmen. This indeed, was too paffionate, and by far toolindecent a Declaration: For what Crime could incur such a Punishment, as could warrant him to declare in this Assembly, that he would employ the Workmen of the Public to demolish a House erected at the public Expence by a Decree of the Senate? Whoever before laid a Senator under fo expensive a Compulfion? Or is there any Penalty known beyond that of a Forfeit or a Fine? But had he known what I should have faid, had I been present, he furely would have abated somewhat of that compulsive Severity.

Q 2 Do

the fending of Soldiers, nor the Orders to fet the House on Fire, nor his taking the Pledges. Cicero only complains, that Anthony had threatened to employ Workmen to break down his House; neither does he affirm that his Pledges were taken, but only complains of Anthony's threatning a Thing so harsh, since other Senators had refused Obedience to the Consul, and only were fined, or lost their Pledges on that Account.

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Do you imagine, Fathers Conscript, though you were forced into Compliance, that I should have given my Vote for decreeing that parental Obsequies should be mixt with public Thanksgivings: That inexpiable religious Rites should be introduced into the Government: That Supplications should be directed to a dead -I will not say who. Had he been a Lucius Brutus, who with his own Hand freed his Country from regal Slavery, and through a Succession of almost five hundred Years, transmitted a Representative capable of being fired with the same noble Sentiments, and performing a like glorious Exploit, never should I be brought to consent that the Dead should be joined in the Veneration due to the Immortal Gods, and that the Man who no where has a Monument for the Parental Obfequies *, should be honoured with the Rites of public Supplication. This Opinion, Fathers Conscript, I should have delivered, that I might be able eafily to vindicate myself to the Roman

^{*} From Tertullian, Pliny, Festus, and our Author, we could produce a great many Passages relating to these Parental Obsequies, which Cicero calls Parentalia; but that would be a Piece of useless Labour, since we know that they were only Feasts held, and Sacrifices offered in Memory of the Dead. They were called Parentalia, because performed on Account of Parents and Relations.

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Roman People, in ease of any heavy Blow, through War, through Pestilence, or Famine; Part of these we already seel, and more I am asraid now threaten us. But the Immortal Gods, I hope, will pardon the People of Rome, who do not approve of it, and the Senate, who were compelled to decree it.

WHAT! Are we debarred from speaking to the other Grievances of the Republic? No. I will, I will ever affert my Dignity, and despise Death. Let me but have Access to this Affembly, and then be mine all the Dangers attending my Freedom of Speech. Much do I wish, Fathers Conscript, that I could have been present on the 1st of August; not that my Presence could have aught availed, but that the Consular, who was worthy of that Honour and of this Republic, might not have stood unseconded as he then did. Therefore, great is my Sorrow, that the Men who have enjoyed the highest Honours of their Country, did not support Lucius Pifo, who moved for fo excellent a Resolution. Did the People of Rome distinguish us with Consular Dignity, that when placed on the highest and most conspicuous Step of Honour, we should set at naught her Constitution? No Consular expressed, Q3

pressed, nay, durst not look, an Approbation of what Lucius Piso proposed.

A CURSE on the Slaves that are so through Choice; it is too much that we have been so through Necessity. I don't insist on all those who are on the Consular Benches delivering their Opinion. The Case of those, whose Silence I pardon, is different from theirs whose Opinion I demand. I am indeed sorry for those whom the Roman People suspect to fall below their own Dignity, not through Fear only, though that would be shameful, but severally for several Causes.

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THEREFORE, in the first place, I return my most sincere Thanks to Lucius Piso, who did not reslect on what he could, but on what he ought to do for the Service of his Country. In the next place, Fathers Conscript, I beg of you, that if you dare not venture to second my Speech and my Example, you may at least, as ye have hitherto done, afford me a favourable Hearing. First then I give it as my Opinion, that the Acts of Casar should be kept, not that I approve of them; for who indeed can? But because I think we ought to have the highest Regard to Peace and Tran-

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Tranquility, I wish that Anthony was here, but without his Backing. He, I think, has a Privilege to be indisposed, though Yesterday I could not be so far indulged by him. He would instruct me, or rather, Fathers Confeript, You, in what Manner he defends the Acts of Cassar. Shall the Acts of Cassar contained in his loose Journals, in his Notes and Pocket-books produced by Anthony, may, not produced, but only said to be extant, be valid? And shall those he engraved on Brass, by which he admitted the Commands of the People and perpetual Laws, be held as maught?

My Opinion indeed is, that the Laws of Cæfar are most properly his Acts. If every Promise he made is to be ratissed, must every thing that he promised to any one, be ratissed, though he could not perform it, as in Fact he made many Promises to many Men, which he did not perform? Might it not sometimes have happened that he has made a great Number of the same Promises to a Number of People? Yet since his Death a much greater Number of his Promises have been found out, than ever he granted Gratuities or Bounties in his Life. But these are what I am neither

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for changing nor altering; nay, with the greatest Zeal do I stand by his noble Acts. I wish the Money were still in the Temple of Ops. It was indeed stained with Blood "; yet fince it is not returned to the rightful Proprietors. it might be serviceable to us at this Juncture. Yet let even that be diffipated, if the Acts of Cafar will have it so. Is there any one thing that may so properly be called the Acts of a Man, who in peaceful Robes poffeffed Power and Command in the Government, as a Law which he passed? If one asks for the Acts of Gracebus, the Sempronian Laws are instantly produced. If of Sylla, the Cornelian. Nay, more: In what Acts did Pompey's third Confulate confift? Why, in his Laws. Had you asked of Casar himself what he had acted within the City in a civil Capacity, he would have answered. That he had passed many excellent Laws. But as to his Notes, he would either have altered them, or not have given them; or if he had given them, he would not have accounted them his Acts. But even that I give up; some Points I likewise wink at;

y In the Temple of Ops was the Treasury. Ops was the Mother of the Gods. She is sometimes called Cybele, sometimes Bona, and sometimes Matula.

z Pomper being dead, and all his Party ruined, their Effects were conficated, and deposited in the Temple of Ops, to be used by the Roman People if Necessity should require.

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at; but in the most important ones, which I conceive to be the Laws, I apprehend that we ought never to suffer an Abolition of Casar's Acts.

Was ever a Law of greater Importance, or greater Utility, or more wished-for when the Constitution was in its Purity, than that, by which it was enacted, that the Pratorian Provinces should not be held but for a Year, and the Consular for two. If this Law shall be abolished, can you imagine that Casar's Acts are inviolated. How! Are not they disannulling all Casar's judicial Laws, by that Law which is now depending in relation to a third Decury of Judges. And can is be said that

Judges should be elected out of two Orders only, viz. the Senatorian and Equestrian; but Anthony wanted to introduce a third Decury or Order, which was to consist of military Men, which Cicaro justly objects to. The qualification that was to intitle them to sit in a judicial Proceeding was their being Centurions,

The Law which our Author here takes Notice of, is, perhaps, one of the foundest Maxims that can enter into any free Government; which is, that Power shall never remain too long in the Hands of one Man. This Casar himself was so sensible or, that it appears he preserved it as a Maxim of his Government; and indeed it was the Disregard of this Maxim in succeeding Times, that produced all the Convulsions of State under the Emperors; for when the Magistrates and Generals, sent to for reign Provinces, had their Commissions prolonged beyond a certain Number of Years, they sound Means to make such a Party in their Province, that they commonly dispossessed the reigning Emperor.

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that you preserve his Acts, while you about his Laws? Unless you look upon every thing, which by way of Memorandum he fet down in a Pocket-book as his Act, and to be inviolably preserved, however unjust and useless it may be, and that which he enacted in the most regular and full Assemblies of the People, to be no Act of Cafar's? But of whom is this third Order of Judges composed? Of Centurions, fays he. But how! By the Julian, before that, by the Pompeian, by the Aurelian Laws, was this Order precluded from acting in a judicial Capacity? But, fays he, they must be qualified by baving a certain Estate before they could act. Yes; but this affected not only Centurions, but even Roman Knights. And for that very Reason it was, that the bravest and the worthiest Men who are at the Heads of Corps, do now fit, and have long

or having the Command of a certain Number of Soldiers. Another reasoned in this Manner: Cassar, said he, allowed Roman Knights to be Judges, therefore Centurions being Roman Knights are to be Judges. This Cicero is not against, provided they had the Qualifications required by the Law of Pompey, which was, that they should possess a certain Share of Property; if a Roman Knight had not that Qualification, he could not act as a Judge. This is a Proof of how much Importance the Romans thought an Independency of Portune was in the Courts of Justice, towards the Preservation of their Liberties and Properties. Anthony wanted to have this Qualification removed, because then, as he had the Army at his Disposal, and was at the Head of it, he could have carried any Johb he had a Mind, by filling the Bench with needy Offices, who depended on himself.

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fat upon the Bench. I don't mean thefe, fays he, but let every Man who has been at the Head of a Corps, bave a Power to judge. But if ye did make a Motion, that whoever had ferved on Horseback, which is the more reputable Service, might fit on the Bench, ye could gain no one to your Opinion; for in a Judge, Regard ought to be had to his Fortune and Dignity. These, says he, I don't mind; I even add to their Number Subaltern Officers from the Legion composed wholly of Gallic Veterans, otherwise my Party thinks there can be no Safety for them. Difgraceful Honour to those whom you unknowingly raise to the Bench of Justice; for the Title of his Law is, that those Gentlemen should be made Judges in the third Decury, though at the same time they are not at Liberty to judge freely. Immortal Gods! What a Mistake was this in those who hatched that Law, for in proportion as each shall appear a dirty Tool, fo the more earnestly will he endeavour to wash out his Stains by judging with Severity, that he may feem to be worthy of being a Member in the creditable, rather than to be thrown rightfully into the difgraceful Decuries.

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ANOTHER Law is promulged , by which they who are convicted either of riotous or treasonable Practices may, if they please, bring an Appeal to the People. But whether is this a Law; or is it not rather an Abrogation of all Laws? For is there a Man now whose Interest the passing of this Law can serve? Nobody is profecuted upon these Laws; and we have reason to believe, that none ever will, for furely Men will never be brought to a Trial for what they have done in Arms. But we are told this is a popular Affair. I wish he would fuffer something to be popular; for all the Citizens of Rome have but one Voice and one Mind with regard to the Safety of their Country. Whence then does all this Eagerness proceed for passing a Law, which in every Degree is fcandalous, and in none popular? For what can be more scandalous, than that when a Man shall encroach by Force on the Majesty of the Roman People, and be lawfully condemned for his Offence, he should have a Power to have Recourse to that Violence, for which

fays he, by Means of the People, that most Riots are committed; if, therefore, the Leader of a Riot has Power to appeal to the People, he is sure to be acquitted, because they are Parties on his Side; therefore, concludes he, this is a mere Solecism in Law and Polity.

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Bur why do I talk more of the Law, as if this was the Question, Whether any body would appeal. The Defign and Import of the. whole is, that no Man ever shall be prosecuted upon these Laws. What a stupid Accuser must he be, who would expose himself to a Mercenary Mob, after a Criminal is convicted? Or what Judge would venture to give Judgment for the Profecuted Person, that he himfelf the next Minute might be dragged before Mechanics whom they impeached kept in Pay? No Appeal, therefore, is established by that Law. But two Laws and Proceedings of the most falutary Nature are abolished. For what else is it than an Exhortation to young Fellows to become turbulent, feditious, and pernicious Citizens? For to what destructive Extremities may not Tribunitial Madness be pushed, if the two Forms of proceeding upon the Charges of Force and Treason shall be abolished.

WHAT! Shall we invalidate the Laws of Cæsar, which order that one convicted of riotous or treasonable Practices, should be cut off

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from the Benefit of Water and Fire? If such an Appeal should be allowed, are not the Acts of Casar disannulled? Yet, Fathers Conscript, I, who never approved of his Acts, am of Opinion, that for the Sake of Unanimity we ought to preserve them, so that I thought it unseasonable to invalidate the Author, not only of those Laws which Casar enacted in his Life-time, but even of those which you see to be produced, and stuck up after his Death.

By the Dead are the Banished recalled. By the Dead are the Privileges of Rome bestowed, not on private Persons only, but upon Nations and whole Provinces. By the Dead Numbers of Corporations have their Tribute remitted. We therefore confirm whatever upon a single, but an unquestionable Evidence, has been produced from his House; and shall we think of ratifying the Acts of Casar, yet abolish his Laws, those Laws which he himself, in our Sight, repeated, pronounced, enacted:

* Cicero here, by the Repetition of the Word Mortuo, humorously exposes the Absurdity of Anthony's Conduct, by thewing that all these Innovations were not owing to Anthony, but Casar who was dead.

The Words we read here were the Preamble, as appears, to all the Bills which the Roman People passed. The Case is much the same, as if the English Government should, without Consent of the Parliament, pass a Bill, enacted by and with Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, &c.

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enacted; Laws which he valued himself upon paffing; Laws in which he thought the System. of our Government was comprehended; Laws which concern our Provinces and our Trials? Are we, I say, to repeal such Laws, yet ratify his Acts? Yet may we at least complain of those Laws which are only proposed; as to those which we pass, we are deprived even of the Liberty to complain. For these, without any previous Promulgation, were passed before they were drawn up. They ask, why I, or, Fathers Conscript, any of your Body should be afraid of bad Laws, while we have virtuous Tribunes of the People? We have, fay they, those who will interpose, those who by Oath are ready to protect the Constitution, therefore ought we to be quite void of Fear. But what do you talk to me, fays he, of Interpositions, or religious Rites? Why! those upon which the very Safety of our Constitution depends, those we have neglected, as thinking them too stale and too stupid. The Forum shall be surrounded, all its Passages shut up; Soldiers shall be posted in Numbers of Places as Guards. What then! Whatever is carried on in that Manner shall be Law, and you shall see it engraved on Brass. Supposing the following legal Form of Words to be inferted.

ferted, "The Confuls in form require the " Concurrence of the People;" for fuch was the Right of requiring fuch Concurrence, and " The People in form consented." What People? The People who are excluded. By what Form? By that which is totally abolifhed by Force of Arms. This I speak, because it may possibly happen; because it is the Duty of Augurs to foretel what may be shunned: If the Fact shall not happen, my Speech shall be of itself confuted. I speak of the Laws that are proposed, which it is now in your Breast to dispose of. I point out Faults; a-I speak of Force and Arms; remend them. move them.

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Dolabella ' you ought not to be angry with me, while I speak in my Country's Cause; though I can scarce believe you will, for I know your Good-nature. They tell me that your Colleague in this, which he thinks his good Fortune, though, to say no worse, to me would he appear more fortunate, was he to imitate the Consulate of his Ancestors and his Uncle; but they tell me that he is grown passionate. Well do I know how undesirable

f This whole Address to Dolabella is extremely artful and moving. He was Lathony's Colleague, and Cicero seems to have a particular Regard for him.

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it is that a Man should at once be in Arms and in a Paffion, especially as the Sword now can act without Controul. But I will advance, as I think, Law and Equity too, to which, I suppose, Anthony will not reject. If I should hereafter contemptuously inveigh against his Life or Morals, so as to render him my bitter Enemy, I am prepared. But never shall I quit the Manner which I have ever observed in public Affairs, which was to deliver my Sentiments with Freedom. I beg. in the first place, that he may not be angry; then if I can't obtain that, let him shew such Resentment only as becomes one Roman Citizen to another. Let him use Arms if they are absolutely necessary, as he says, for defending his Person. But never let these Arms injure those who speak what they think relates to the Interest of their Country. What can be more just than this Request?

But if, as I am told by some of his Friends, he falls in a Passion at every Speech, even though it is no ways abusive, if it opposes his Pleasure, let us bear with a Friend's Humour. But I am told by the same Persons, you, you who are a Foe to Casar, are not to take the same Liberties as Piso, his Father-in-Law. At Vol. II.

CICERO'S ORATION the same Time they dropt a Caution, which I shall take; nor, Fathers Conscript, is Sickness a more sufficient Excuse than Death, for

not attending this House.

Bur by the immortal Gods, while I behold you, Dolabella, whom I love with my Soul. I cannot refrain my Tongue from menfioning the Failures of you both; for I believe you to be honourable Men whose Views are elevated, whose Ambition, as some too creduloufly fuspect, is not for Money, which the Greatest and the most Eminent always defpife, nor for a formidable Interest, nor a Power intolerable to Romans, but Popularity and Glory; but true Glory confifts in Approbation, for virtuous Actions, and fignal Services, performed for your Country, in which the Voice of the Public, as well as of every worthy Man, concurs.

Dolabella, I would point out the Fruits of virtuous Actions, did I not perceive that you are distinguished by having tasted them. Can you recollect, upon a Review of your whole Life, that any Day gave you a greater Pleasure than that, on which the Forum being expiated; the Assembly of the Wicked dispersed; the

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Leaders of Iniquity punished; the City delivered from her Apprehensions of Flames and Massacres; you retired to your own House? What Rank, what Degree, what Station did not then mingle their Zeal in the full Meafure of thy Applause and Congratulation; I too received the Thanks of the Worthy. I received their Compliments on your Success, because they thought that by my Counfels those Actions were performed. Mind, Dolabella, I conjure you, that Applaufe of the Theatre, when all Men forgetting and forgiving all you had done to disoblige them, declared that your late Services had cancelled all her Refentment of your past Conduct? Can you tamely and patiently stoop from such a Height of Glory?

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As for you, Marcus Antonius, I speak to you though-absent; do you not prefer that fingle Day, when the Senate met in the Temple of Tellus, to all those Months, during which, those who think different from me, imagine you happy? How you then talked about Unanimity! From what Apprehensions did you deliver the Veterans? From what Anxiety the City? Laying afide Refentment, forgetful of the Auspices, yourself declaring them as Augur, you on that Day first admitted your Col-

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league

league to be your Colleague. Your little Son, by yourself delivered into the Capitol, was the Pledge of Peace.

Was ever Day more agreeable to the Senate; more agreeable to the People of Rome? Or was ever any Affembly more full and frequent than that? Then did we behold ourfelves delivered by the bravest of Men, because, as they intended, Peace had followed Liberty. The next, the following, the third, and some subsequent Days, never did you fail to present some endearing Token of Love to your Country: But your Chief was the Abolition of the Dictatorship. This was branded by you, by you, Sir, as a Mark of eternal Infamy to the Dead Cæfar, in the same Manner, as for the Treason of a single Person of the Name of Marcus Manlius, by a Resolution of the Manlian Race, no Patrician was afterwards permitted to assume that Name. Thus so strongly did you detest one Dictator, as utterly to abolish the very Office. And after all this Patriot-Conduct, did you repent yourself for having acquired such Fortune, fuch Dignity, fuch Renown, and fuch Glory? Whence then this fudden Change! Sure I cannot suspect that you are under pecuniary Influence; th bu wa

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fluence; let every Man speak as he pleases, though there is no Necessity to believe him; but never did I know you guilty of ought that was mean or dirty. True! Domestics sometimes use to corrupt their Masters; but your Integrity I know, and I wish you could be as free of Suspicion as you are of Guilt.

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MORE am I afraid of this, that mistaking the true Path to Glory, you think it glorious that you alone are more powerful than all befides, and chuse rather to be feared, than beloved by your Country. If thus you think, absolutely do you mistake the Road to Glory. It is glorious to endear yourself as a Citizen; to perform noble Services to your Country; to be the Object of her Praise, her Veneration, and her Love: But odious, detestable, weak, and momentary, it is to be the Object of her Fear and Hatred. Even in the Play we find that the Maxim, Let them bate while they fear, was destructive to the very Man who faid fo. I wish, Anthony, you had called to Mind your Grandfather, whom you have heard me so frequently mention. Dost thou think that he would have purchased Immortality itfelf at the Expence of being the dreaded Mafter of licentious Power? This was his Life, R 3 this

this his Prosperity, in Liberty to be equal, in Dignity to be fuperior to others. Therefore, to pass over the prosperous Part of your Grandfather's Life, rather would I chuse to be him in all the Agony of his latter End, than to be Cinna the Tyrant, who cruelly put him to Death in all the Insolence of his Power. But why think I to make an Impression on you by Words? If the Fate of Cafar cannot perfuade you to wish rather to be loved than feared, nothing can my, or any Man's Word They who imagine that avail or affect. Cafar was happy, are themselves miserable. No Man is happy who holds his Life on such Terms, as that whoever kills him shall meet not with Impunity only, but immortal Honour.

RELENT, therefore, I entreat thee; cast thine Eyes upon thy Ancestors, and so rule the State, as that thy Countrymen may bless the Day which gave thee Birth. Without this no Man can possess either Happiness or Renown. Many are the Instances which you both have had of the public Judgment; and it gives me great Concern that they have been fo ineffectual; what else could those Shouts mean, which at the Shews of Gladiators, broke

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broke from innumerable Multitudes? What the Crowding of the People? What the unbounded Applause poured out on the Statue of Pompey, and upon the two Tribunes who oppose you? Do these but faintly express the incredibly unanimous Wishes of the whole Roman People? How! Did the Applause, let me rather call it the Evidence and the Judgment of the Romans, at the Play of Apollo ", appear triffing to you? Happy they, who when armed Force prevented their being personally present, yet were present, and clung to the Heart and the Soul of every Roman ! Unless you are to imagine that the Applause and the Palm was bestowed fixty Years after his Death upon Accius, and not upon Brutus; who though absent indeed in Person from his own Shews, yet in that magnificent Entertainment, received the warmest Wishes of the Roman People for his Prosperity; thus did they sooth their Grief for his Absence by Shouts of uninterrupted Applause.

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I INDÈED

Period, never was there a more fickle, inconstant, prostitute mercenary Set of Men, than the People of Rome in those Days. One Day we find them burning the Houses of the Slayers of Casar; another Day paying religious Adoration to his Memory; and in this Passage we find them all united in applauding the Action and celebrating Brutus as their Deliverer from Tyranny.

h These Plays were exhibited at the Expence of Brutus, who was Prætor, who did not think sit at that Time to be present

la Person at Rome.

I INDEED am one of those who have ever despised the Shouts bestowed on Citizens by the Populace, but when they are bestowed by the highest, the middling, and the lowest Ranks; in short, by the whole Body of the People, efpecially when they who used meanly to court popular Favour, were obliged to hide their Heads; this I cannot call Applause, but a just Approbation. But if these Circumstances, which are indeed of the highest Importance, appear to you but trifling, will ye despise the Proof which you had how dear the Life of A. Hirtius was to the People of Rome? It was sufficient to him that he obtained the Approbation of the Roman People which he still retains, that to his Friends he is more than any Man alive agreeable; that to his Family he is dear, even to an Excess of Passion; but where, in our Memory, was ever the Concern of the Worthy, and the Apprehensions of the World, so much interested as in him? Surely never. How then, Immortal Gods! are ye at a loss to interpret these Intimations, or to form a Judgment in what Manner they, to whom the Life of the deserving Patriot is fo dear, regard your Lives.

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Hirrius was then Conful Elect, and happening to fall fick of a Fever, the Romans were in great Consternation.

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I HAVE now, Fathers Conscript, obtained the End I proposed by my Return, because I have now spoke what in all Events must be a Proof of my Constancy, and have been heard by you with Favour and Attention. This is an Indulgence, which, if I can without bringing myself and you into Danger, I will often use; otherwise I will, in the best Manner I can, lie by; not so much to serve myself as my Country. Enough almost have I lived either for Nature or Glory. If any Additions are made to either, not I, but you and the State shall reap the Advantage.



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ARGUMENT.

AFTER Cicero bad delivered the last Oration against Anthony, the latter went to his Villa, where he studied during seven Days for a proper Answer to Cicero. On the 13th of the Kalends of October he summoned together a Senate in our Author's Absence, who thought it unsafe to be present, by Reason of a strong Party of Anthony's Russians guarding all the Avenues, and lining the Senate-House under Arms; there he made a bitter, but a very stupid Investive ar gainst Cicero, if we may believe the latter.

This following Oration is wrote in answer to that Invective; but notwithstanding all the Painting and the Incidents it contains, as if Anthony had been present when it was delivered, it is certain that the Oration itself never was delivered. It is perhaps the severest and the keenest Invective ever wrote, and conceived in such Terms, with so thorough a Contempt, with so strong a Detestation of Anthony, that it is no wonder if the latter could ever forgive it.

Our Author in the first place vindicates him-Self from several Objections made to his personal and

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and moral Character by Anthony: And as be proceeds in his Vindication, takes Care to lay the Folly and the Villainy of his Antagonist's Conduct very open. He treats him with less Ceremony than ever be did Clodius or Catiline, whom be admits to have had Parts; but Anthony, according to him, joined the most blundering Understanding, and the most clumsy Wit to the worst Heart that ever Man possest. He lays open all bis criminal Excesses of Debauchery, whether in Gaming, in Drinking, in Whoring, or Gluttony, with every other Species of Vice that can enter into the Composition of human Nature. He shews bim to be a greater Tyrant in his public Character, than any that ever went before him; he holds him forth as guilty of Bribery, Corruption, Forgery, Murder, and Rapaciousness, to support bis ill-got Power, and to pay off his Debts; and thus he traces him from his early Youth to that very Day.

But the Reader is not to expect here that a Translator can have the Room for the same Flow of Language and Turn of Periods, as in the other Orations, where the Subject is general; for all this Oration is personal, clost, and invective. The Art of the Orator is disguised by the Vehemency with which he is supposed to speak, and the Stile by no Means of that florid exuberant Kind, which

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which distinguishes the Orations of Cicero. There are likewise many proverbial Expressions and Allusions introduced through the whole, which though extremely beautiful to a Roman, lose their Effect with us.

This Oration being published was fatal to Cicero, as were the Philippics of Demosthenes to him. In what great Esteem the second Philippic of Cicero was with the Antients, we learn from Juvenal's tenth Satyr; where speaking of these two great Men, his Words run thus:

Eloquio sed uterque periit Orator, utrumque Largus et exundans Letho dedit, Ingenii Fons. Ingenio Manus est, et Cervix cæsa, nec, unquam Sanguine Causidici manduerunt Rostra Pusilli. O Fortunatam Natam me Consule Romam, Antonii Gladios Potuit Contemnere, si sic Omnia Dixisset; Ridenda Poemata Malo Quam te conspicuæ divina Philippica Famæ Volveris a prima quæ proxima—

The Coalition betwixt Anthony and Octavius Cæsar, gave him up to the Sword of the former; and the implacable Malice of Fulvia, the Wife of Anthony, was such, that she thrust out his Eyes with a Bodkin after his Death upon the Murderer's presenting her with his Head.

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M. T.

CICERO's

SECOND

ORATION

AGAINST

M. ANTONIUS.



O what Fatality attending me ;
Fathers Conscript, shall I ascribe it, that for these Twenty
Years

The Words in the Original are, Quonam mee fato, and one Copy has it facto, which Reading is disapproved of by most of the Commentators. The Antients defined fatum thus, Omnium councilionem ferienque causarum, qua sit omne quod sit. The Connection and Series of all Causes, by Means of which all Things happen that do happen. The Words in the Original are what Rhetoricians call Exordium on abrupto, in which he enquires in-

Years no Man has been the Enemy of this State, who has not at the same Time declared War against me also? Unnecessary it is for me to descend to Particulars, which you yourselves may remember. More severe was their Punishment than I could have wished. I am furprized, Anthony, that you dread not their Fates, as you tread in their Paths. Yet the Conduct of others a gave me less Surprize; for none of them chose to be my Enemy, all of them were attacked by me on Account of But you, unprovoked even by the State. Words, that you may appear more audacious than Catiline, more furious than Clodius, have by your Calumnies even attacked mee; and thought that your Enmity with me would be

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to the Causes why, since his being engaged in the State, and obtaining the Consulship, none who have plagued and harrassed the State, have failed to be open and avowed Enemies to him.

b These are the twenty Years which intervened betwixt Cicero's Consulate and the killing of Cusar, which happened under the Consulate of Mark Anthony.

^c Catiline, who had conspired against the Republic, and against Cicero, was slain in a Battle; bearing Arms against his native Country. His Accomplices in that Conspiracy were, by a Decree of the Senate, killed in Prison. Clodius, who was an inveterate Enemy to Cicero, and who, by his Factions, had forced him into Banishment, was slain by Milo.

d He here means Clodius, Catiline, Varinius, Pifo, and Gabi-

nius, with regard to whom Cicero was the Aggressor.

for he wanted to compel Gicero to come into the Senate-House even when faint, and his Strength exhausted by his Journey.

your strongest Recommendation to profligate Citizens.

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WHAT can I think; That I am despised? I fee nothing in my Life, in my Character', in my Actions, nor in my Capacity, slender as it now appears, which Anthony can detract. Did he imagine that his Attempt to despise. from me would be most successful, because made in the Senate? An Affembly which, though it has bestowed on many eminent Citizens the Praise of successfully serving their Country, yet me alone has it distinguished with the Praise of saving it ? Did he intend VOL. II.

In the Original the Words are in gratia, and point un-doubtedly at the Instances of Kindness which the Roman People flewed to Gitero; which were not only many in Number, but remarkable by their Quality; for when he was forced to quit the City, and go into Exile, by Clodius, and the two Confuls, Piso and Gabinius, almost the whole Equestrian Order, changed their Garments, (among the Romans a Sign of Sorrow) and twenty thousand of the Youth of greatest Note, cloathed in homely Dress accompanied those who were to intercede for his Restitution; and a full Senate decreed a Change of Drefs, as in a general Mourning. When he was on his Return from Exile, the Senate and all the People went forth to meet him, and conducted him with the greatest Shouts, and as it were in Triumph, from the Porta Capena to the Capitol; and when he was approaching the Town, in his Return from Greece, the Confluence of People was fo great, that a whole Day was confumed in receiving their Addresses and Congratulations. See Plutarch in

8 When Cicero had freed the Republic of the Danger that threatened it from the Conspiracy of Catiline, the Senate decreed a Thanksgiving in Honour of him; and Marcus Cate being asked his Sentiments of the Matter, pronounced Cicero Pater Patrice, the Father of his Country; an Honour till that Time

never conferred on any in a free State.

This indeed is doing me a Favour. For can I have a fairer, a fuller Advantage, than both to plead for myself and against Anthony? But this, I have found it out, is his End: He thought, that to his Consederates. Men like himself, he could never bring sull Evidence that he was the Enemy of his Country, unless he lived at Variance with me. Before I answer other Points, I shall take the Liberty to touch in a sew Words upon our Friendship, which he charges me with violating, a Charge which I take to be of the blackest Nature.

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HE complains that I appeared, I don't know when, against his Interest. Ought I not to appear against a Stranger in favour of my Friend and Relation ? Ought I not to appear against the Power of an Interest gained not by the Semblance of Virtue, but the Bloom of Youth? Ought I not to appear against an Injury, by him committed through the Partiality of a scandalous Interposer, and not the Decision

Who this Friend and Relation was, Cicero neither tells us, nor can we, from any Circumstances mentioned, so much as guess at him; but the Stranger spoke of was Quintus Fahius Bambalio, a freed Man, whose Daughter Anthony had married. Cicero appearing for his Friend against this Bambalio, Anthony was angry with him, and reproached him with having violated the Laws of Friendship.

Some Tribune of the People had it feems been bribed by.

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cision of the Prætor ? But this I suppose you have mentioned with this View, that you may recommend yourself to the lowest Rank of the People?; that you yourself are Son-in-law to a Man who had been a Slave, and that your Children are the Grandchildren of Quintus Fadius, who had been a Slave also. But (you say) you had put yourself as a Pupil under my Care ", (for that was your Expression) you had frequently resorted to my House. Surely, had you done that, your Reputation had been more fair, and your Chastity less polluted. But you neither did it, not had you intended to do it, would Curio have permitted it.

You said, that in my Favour you dropt your Pretensions to the Augurship. Amazing Presumption! intolerable Impudence! At the Time when Cneius Pompeius and Quintus Hortensius, for only two could do it, named me, at the Request of the whole College, to be

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In the Words in the Original are, Jure pratorio; now the Jus pratorium was a Power affamed by the Prators, of mending, helping, supplying, and correcting the civil Law, as Necessity should require. This Power was likewise called Just Honoravium.

¹ This is the Plebeian Order.

m It was customary, when Boys had taken the manly Gorun, to give them in Charge to Men of Learning and good Morals, in order to be instructed in the Duties of Life, and get them formed to Virtue and Humanity.

an Augur, you was insolvent, and sensible that there was no Sasety for you but in the Ruin of your Country. But could you stand for the Augurship at a Time when Curio was not in Italy? Or even when you was made an Augur, could you have carried one Tribe but by the Interest of Curio? And even his Friends were convicted of Violence for being over-zealous in your Favour.

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But I am under an Obligation to you. What Obligation? Yes! and that Obligation I was always ready to acknowledge. I chose rather to own myself obliged even to you, than to appear to an unthinking Person, ungrateful. But what was this Obligation? That you did not murder me at Brundusum? That is saying,

n This was Curio's Son who is here pointed at, and who, by his Intimacy with Anthony, became so corrupted and so profligate, that in order to support his Debaucheries, and carry on his wicked Designs, he contracted great Debts; which when he was resolving to cancel, his Father banished Anthony from his House, upon which he betook himself to Clodius, and when Designs were forming against him, retired into Asia.

There was at Rome a most splendid College of Augurs, who were nine in Number, elected not only from the Patrician, but likewise from the Plebeian Order, and their Dignity was per-

petual,

P After Pompey was vanquished in the Battle of Pharsalia, Coto
of Utica endeavoured to persuade Cicero, at the Request of his
Friends, to take upon him the Command of the Fleet; but
Casar pursuing him, Cicero sted to Brundussium, with a Design to

go into Italy; and as Anthony was fent thither before him by Cafar,

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faying, you did not kill a Man, preserved and restored to Italy by Order of the Conqueror, who, as you yourfelf used to boast, had dignified you with a chief Command among his Robbers 4. But admitting you could have killed me: What, Fathers Confcript, is this other than the Boon of Robbers, whose Language it is that they fave the Lives of those whom they do not murder? Had this been a Merit, they whom you used to name the most eminent of Mankind, and who killed the Man who preserved them', never could have acquired fo much Glory. But what is the Merit of refraining your Hand from the Commission of detestable Guilt? In which Case it was not near fo agreeable to me that I was spared by you, as it was grievous that it was in

Casar, he might have killed Cicero, since he resused both the Authority of Pompey and of Casar. See Appian, Lib. II. Bell. Civil.

9 Here Cicero bears hard both upon Cafar and upon Anthony; for he infinuates, that that War might more justly be stiled a Robbery than a lawful War; because it was carried on contra patriam, against the native Country of those who were engaged in it: A Circumstance, of all others, the most aggravating among the Romans, that People so justly famed for their strong Passion for Liberty; and because in that War, among the Rest of the Robbers. Anthony bore the chief Command, and was, in Consequence of that, sent into Italy by Casar, with a View to subject it by Force of Arms.

Here Brutus and Cassus must be excepted, since they had never submitted to Casar's Authority; but all the rest, who had a Hand in his Murder, had been saved by him. See Appian Lib. II. Bell. Civil.

262 CICERO'S ORATION in your Power to have murdered me with Impunity.

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But admit it to be a Favour, since it is all the Favour one can receive from a Robber, yet in what Respect can you term me ungrateful? Ought I not, for fear of appearing ungrateful to you, to bewail my expiring Country? But in what I then complained of (a Complaint woeful and wretched indeed, but indispensible with me in this Station, to which by the Senate and the People of Rome I am

Anthony was endeavouring to destroy the Constitution; fince he only wanted to assume to himself the Power which Cafar had usurped, but likewise to reverse the Laws made by Cafar: This provoked Cicero, and stirred him up to oppose every Mea-fure of Anthony's, which had the least Tendency to ruin the Commonwealth. This, in fine, made him exposulate with An thony in the following Manner: An de interitu reipublica queri non debui, ne in te ingratus viderer? As if he had said, " Mutt I then, O Anthony, because you once spared my Life at Brundusium, that Life which you had indeed the Power, but not the Right to deprive me of; must I, I say, on that Account, trackle to your Humour? must I, for that Reason, either tacitly applaud, or tamely view your Attempts on the Freedom and Happiness of Rome? Am I obliged, in Confequence of that Circumstance, to facrifice the noblest and most worthy Principle of my Nature, namely, the Love of my Country, to the Whim and Caprice, to the ambitious Views, or even to the most virtuous Friendship of a single Man. Mistaken Mortal, I disdain the horrid Thought; I prefer a greater to a smaller Good, public to private Happiness, the Interest of a Community to the Favour of an Individual. Yes! the Love of my Country is an Obligation, facred, indefeafible, and eternal; all interior and less holy Ties shall yield to this. The Gods themselves cannot dissolve my Obligation to it. Ceafe then, Authory, to think, that the small Favour of Life once preserved by you, either can or will supercede it."

Cicero was a Senator, and a Man of Confular Dignity, than which there was not a more honourable Station in Rome.

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I am raifed) did I throw out aught that was abusive? Did I utter an Expression but what was cool and friendly? Yet what a Self-denial was there in refraining from Abule, when I was complaining against Mark Anthony, efpecially as you had diffipated the Remains of the State "? When within your House every thing had been proftituted to an infamous Venality? When you had confessed that Laws relating to you, and which never had been promulged , were by your Means passed? When, as Augur, you had abolished the Auspices, and as Consul had excluded the Interposition of the Tribunes? When you had been fcandalously attended with Guards? When, funk in Luft and Liquor, you perpetrated the most shameful Pollutions within a House remarkable for its Purity? But I, as if I had been contending with a Marcus Crassus , with whom

Temple of Ops, which remained of the Largesses of Casar, and which such any claimed to himself; or Citero may here likewise mean the four thousand Talents, which Anthony got from Calipburnia, Casar's Wife.

w Before any Law was passed, it was proposed or promulged for twenty-seven Days, with these Words, Velisis jubearis Quirites, at lex illa, &c. and then the Law was said to be pro-

mulged.

* The Enmity between this Croffus (who was a very rich Man, and flain in the Parthian Wars) and Cicero was very firong and inveterate, because he imagined he had been engaged in the Conspiracy of Catilins, but he was afterwards reconciled to Crassus, at his Son's Request.

whom I have had many and severe Bickerings, and not with an infamous Bully, while I bitterly bewailed the Ruin of my Country, spared the Person of the Man.

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To Day therefore I will take Care, that he shall understand what Favour I then shewed him. This Wretch, void of all Humanity, and ignorant of the Decency required even in low Life, read over the Letters which he pretended I wrote to him. For who, that has the least Knowledge of what passes among Men of Worth and Figure, upon a Grudge happening to fall in, ever publickly exposed and read over the Letters that were fent him by his Friend? To take away the Intercourse of abfent Friends, what is it else but to take from Life the focial Pleasure of Living? In Letters how many Jokes use to be, which, if exposed, would feem very filly! How many ferious Things, yet by no Means, fit to be exposed!

HAVING said thus much of thy Brutality, let me now proceed to thy amazing Stupidity. What have you to object to me, My Man of Eloquence? for such you appear to Mustella Tamissus and Tiro Numissus, who at this Instant are

Any farther Account we cannot give of these Men, than

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an at fare standing with their Swords in their Hands, in the Sight of the Senate; therefore I too hall think you eloquent, if you will shew me how you can prove them to be other than Affaffins. But then, what can you object, should I deny that ever I fent you fuch Letters? Upon what Evidence canst thou convict me? Upon that of my own Hand-writing? In this you have a very profitable Dexterity 2. But how can You do it? For they are wrote by my Secretary. Now do I hate thy Tutor, who, notwithstanding all his great Wages, which I shall soon make appear, could not infuse into thee a Grain of Knowledge.

For what can shew less, I will not say of an Orator, but of a rational Creature, than to throw out a Charge against an Antagonist, which if the Latter shall deny but upon his bare Word, the other shall be so puzzled, that he cannot proceed? But I do not deny it. by that very Fact I convict you not only of being void of Humanity, but of common Sense. For is there a Word in all these Letters, that is

not

that they were Parasites of Anthony's, and of a low and despicable Character.

E He here infinuates, or rather afferts in plain Terms, that Authory had counterfeited Cafar's Hand, and done it with fuch Art, that many of Anthony's Forgeries were mistaken for genuine Acts of Cafar,

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not full of Kindness, Good-manners, and Friendship? But all your Pique is, that in these Letters I did not shew how much I disliked you, that I addressed you as my Fellow-Citizen, and a Man of Worth, and not as a Ruffian and a Robber. Yet, with all the Provocation I have met with from you, which I might juftly refent, never did I expose your Letters, by which you beg that I would give you leave to recall a certain Person from Banishment, and which you swear you never will do without my Consent. My Consent you obtained: For why should I oppose thy Audacity , which neither the Authority of this Order, nor your Reputation with the Roman People, nor any Laws could restrain? But after all, what did you require of me, if the Person for whom you interceded was recalled by Casar's Law? But he defigned, for sooth, a Compliment to me! though at the fame Time, as the Law was passed, no Thanks were owing even to himself.

But, Fathers Conscript, I have a great deal to say, both for myself, and against Anthony. While I plead for myself, I beg you to hear me with

² Cicere had no Mind vigoroully to oppose Anthony, fince he knew that Clodius was to be brought back, in Consequence of a Law already passed by Casar.

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with Indulgence; and when I plead against him, I will take Cate that you shall hear me with Attention. At the same Time I entreat, that if you have had Proofs of my Moderation and Decency in every Step of my Life, as well as in my Pleading, think not that I forget what is owing to my own Character, if in my Answer I shall use him according to the Provocation I have received. I will treat him as Consular. Yet his profligate Life, his wretched Administration, and the Manner in which he was created, takes from him all Right to be Consul; but that I am Consular, is beyond all Dispute.

To set his own Consulate before you in the best Light, he objects to mine. A Consulate that titularly was mine, but virtually, Fathers Conscript, it was yours. For what did I resolve, what did I execute, but by the Advice, Authority, and Decision of this Order? And shalt thou, not only eloquent but wise as thou art, presume to reproach me with my Conduct, before those, whose Counsels and Wisdom gave it a Sanction? Did ever Man impeach my Consulate besides thyself and Publius Clodius?

Whose Fate, as it has overtaken Curio, now awaits thee, because in thy House is the Instrument that proved fatal to both.

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My Consulate does not please Mark Anthony: Yet did it please Publius Servilius :: give me Leave to name him, who is last deceased, first in the List of the Consular Persons of that Time. It pleased Quintus Catulus, whose Authority in this State shall never die; it pleased the two Luculli, Marcus Crassus, Quintus Hortenfius, Caius Curio, Marcus Lepidus, Calpburnius Pifo, Marcus Glabrio, Lucius Volcatius, Caius Figulus, with Decius Silanus, and Lucius Murena, who were then Confuls elect. What pleafed these Consular Men, pleased also Marcus Cato, who as he left the World that he might avoid much that he foresaw, never faw you a Conful. But chiefly did my Confulate please Cneius Pompeius, who when he first came from Syria as foon as he faw me, complimenting and embracing me, owned it to be owing to my Friendship that he was again to

b Appian tells us, that this Curio (when he was marching with two Legions into Lybia against Varus, who favoured Pompey, and against Juba King of Mauritania, who favoured Varus) was cut off with his Army at the River Bagrada.

c This Publius Servilius conquered the Isidauri in Italy, and thence had the Name of Isidauricus bestowed on him. He died in extreme old Age, under the Consulship of Casar and Anthony.

fee his Country. But why do I dwell upon fingle Persons? So much did it please a full assembled Senate, that there was not a Man who did not return me Thanks as to a Father, who did not own that to me he owed his Life, his Children, his Fortune, and the Deliverance of

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But since our Country is now bereaved of so many great Men as I have now named; let me proceed to the Living; two of whom, of Consular Dignity, still are with us. Lucius Cotta, a Man of the most consummate Capacity and Prudence, for that very Conduct which you blame, decreed a Thanksgiving in the most magnificent Terms, with the Assent of those very Men of Consular or Senatorial Dignity, whom I now have mentioned; an Honour that since the Building of this City, never was conferred upon any Man in the Robes of Peace, besides myself.

WITH what Energy, with what Resolution, with what Majesty did Lucius Casar, your maternal Uncle, pronounce Sentence upon the Husband of his own Sister, and your Stepfather? Though he ought to have been the Pattern and Director of all your Counsels, of all your Conduct in Life, yet did you chuse to

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resemble your Step-sather rather than your Uncle. I, though not his Kinsman, yet while I was Consul, followed his Advice. Thou, though the Son of his Sister, yet didst thou ever consult with him upon aught that related to the Public? Immortal Gods! with whom does he consult? Why with Men whose very Birth-days make a Noise.

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To Day Anthony does not appear , why? He celebrates a Birth-day in his Gardens. Whose is it? I will name no Man: Suppose it a Bussion's, a Parasite's, or a Pimp's. Detestable Stain to Humanity! unsufferable Impudence, Insamy, and Lust! Thou, whilst thou hast a leading Senator, a distinguished Citizen, so near a Relation, never consult with him about thy Administration, but with those who having no Property of their own, drain thee of thine! So like a Patriot is thy Consulting conducted, so like a Traitor was mine.

ART thou so thoroughly lost at once to the Virtue of Chastity, and the Sense of Shame, as that thou darest to advance this in that very Temple, where I consulted with the Senate, once

Anthony did not on this Occasion come into the Senate, hecause he was probably hindered, not by his own, but by the Birth-day of some Parasite or other.

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once the glorious Head of a subjected World; but where thou hast posted thy abandoned Ruffians with Swords in their Hands? But thou hast presumed to say; (for thy Presumption is boundless,) that the Mount of the Capitol, when I was Conful, was filled with armed Slaves: meaning, I suppose, that I forced the Senate into the scandalous Decree which it then made, What a Wretch thou art! Whether thou art ignorant of those Things, as well as of every Thing besides that is good, or if thou art not ignorant of them, for talking with such Infolence in this awful Assembly ! For was there a Roman Knight, was there a Youth of Quality, was there a Man of any Rank befides thy. felf, who reflected that he was a Citizen, who was not on the Mount of the Capital, while the Senate was affembled in this Temple? Who amongft them did not inlift himfelf? infomuch. that even Clerks were wanting to write down. and the Registers were too scanty to contain their Names. For when abandoned Ruffians confess their Intentions of being the Parricides of their Country; when they are forced by the Discoveries of their Accomplices, their own Hands, and their almost speaking Letters, to

^{*} Besides many others who confessed, there was one Caparius, who, upon a public Promise of Protection, discovered the whole Conspiracy.

to own, that they had conspired to fire the City, to murder the Citizens, to desolate Italy, to destroy the Commonwealth: Who must not then be roused to the Desence of the public Safety? Especially as the Roman People had then such a Leader, as were there now such another at their Head, must have made thee to share in the same Doom which then besel them.

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of his Step-Father to be buried. This Accufation never was brought against me even by
Clodius, whom, as my Enmity with him was
on my Part well grounded, I am forry you outdo in every Manner of Wickedness. But what
could posses you to remind us, that you was
educated in the House of Lentulus? Was you
apprehensive that we could not imagine you
should be naturally such a Monster without
the Assistance of Education?

But such was thy Stupidity, that through all thy Discourse thou wast still confounding thyself: So that what you spoke was not incoherent only, but entirely foreign and contradictory to

f Anthony it seems had objected to Cicero, that he refused Burial to the Corps of Lentulus Sura. But Plutarch tells us in his Antonius, that this Story is false.

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of your Speech you did not feem to be difputing with me, but with yourself. You acknowledged that your Step-father was involved in that unnatural Treason, yet you complain that he suffered. Thus, what was properly my Act, you have approved; what was that of the whole Senate, you have condemned. For to me it was owing that the Guilty were seized; to the Senate, that they were punished. This Master of Eloquence therefore does not understand that in his Pleading he praises his Antagonist, and reproaches his Judges.

Give me now leave to enquire, by whose (I will not call it Presumption, for he affects to be thought presumptuous) but by whose Stupidity an Imputation more hard of Digestion to him, though no Man can match him in it, the Mount of the Capital happened to be mentioned, while an armed Force is posted even amidst our Benches? Immortal Gods! in this Chapel of Concord, in which, during my Consulate, the most Patriot Measures were revolved. II.

our Author, through all his Orations, is still affecting to bring in the Mention of his Consulate; in this Passage it occurs very naturally, since nothing can be more shocking than to see the Deliberations of a public Body over-awed by open Force; but Cicero, one should think, ought to have been a little tender of touching.

folved on, Measures to which we owe our Existence at this Day, Guards are posted with Swords in their Hands. Accuse the Senate. accuse the Equestrian Order at that Time connected with the Senate, accuse every Rank, every Citizen; but you must confest, that at this Infant this Affembly is befet by Barba-It is not Audaciousness that buts such an impudent Speech in thy Mouth, but thy not perceiving the absolute Inconsistency of the Circumstances. Believe me, thou art completely stupid. For what can be more like an Idiot, than, while thou thyself hast levied an armed Force that is destructive to thy Country, to charge another with rifing in Arms to protect her?

But you once attempted to be witty, Kind Heaven! how clumfily you cut your Jokes! And let me tell you, it was partly your own Fault; for you have a Lady, an Actress, who might have instilled some Wit into you.

To the long Robe let Arms give Way ".

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touching upon that Point; for even in the Case of Catiline, the Deliberations of the Senate were by no means free. There was a Body of Roman Knights, who were still at Hand, and, as he himself infinuates, were ready to have done whatever he had a Mind should be done; nay, we find that they went so far, as even to offer to kill Casar, for delivering his Sentiments freely.

offer to kill Cafar, for delivering his Sentiments freely.

This is the famous Distich which has occasioned so many fevere Sneers upon our Author's poetical Character: And indeed

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How! and did they not then give way? The long Robe afterwards indeed gave way to thy Arms. Let us therefore enquire which Conduct was preferable; that the Force of Traitors should yield to the Liberties of the Romans, or that Liberty should yield to thy Arms. But I will not answer thee more in Stanzas, I will only fay in short, that thou art void of all Knowledge, either in Poetry or any other Part of Literature. That I never was wanting in my Duty, either to the Public, or to my Friends, yet by the Works of every Kind which in my Hours of Leifure from those more important Concerns of Life, I composed, that the Fruits of my Labours and Learning were of some Advantage to the Youth, and did some Honour to the Reputation of my Country. But this is foreign at present, let me proceed to what is more important.

T 2

You

it is amazing that a Man so quick-fighted in the Characters of others, should be so blind to his own, as not only to mistake his Genius, but obstinately to persevere in his Mistake, by senewing his Attempts to versify, and desending his Compositins. It would appear that Anthony had been a little severe upon him for this, and his Answer to him here is by no Means the most shining Part of this Oration, and far from the delicate Raillery which he is Master of on other Occasions.

You have affirmed, that it was by my Advice that Publius Clodius was killed !. What must the World have thought, had he been kill'd, when in the Sight of all Rome, you purfued him in the Forum with a drawn Sword. and had compleated the Work, but that he , threw himself under the Steps of a Bookseller's Stall, and by barricading it, stopt your Pursuit? But what do I talk? I own, that I indeed countenanc'd you; but you yourself don't pretend that I advised you in what you then acted. But Milo could not have fo much as my Countenance, for he finished his Business before any body fuspected that he had undertaken it. Yet I must be his Adviser; as if Milo was a Man, who could not without an Adviser have done a Service to his Country. But, you fay, that I appeared joyful. What! was it proper, that amidst so universal a Joy, I should be the only dejected Person in all Rome.

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YET, though it was not quite so legal to do it, a Tryal was appointed upon the Case of Clodius; for to what Purpose was a new Law

Our Author here repeats a great deal of what he has faid in his Oration for Milo, which the Reader may consult.

Law enacted for trying a Man who had killed another, when a Tryal in such a Case was regulated by the Laws in Being? Howeverthe Tryal went on. What then! When that Affair was depending, no body charged me; that was a Task reserved for you a great many Years after it was over. But as to what in a Cloud of Words you have dared to advance, as if by my Means Pompey was divided from Cafar's Friendship, and therefore it was owing to me that the Civil War broke out; you are not indeed absolutely in the Wrong, but mistaken in a very material Point, which is, that of Time.

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WHILE Bibulus, that excellent Patriot, was Conful, I omitted nothing, I did, I endeavoured all I could to take Pompey off from his Connection with Cafar. But in this, Cafar was more fuccessful than I *; for he separated Pompey from my Friendship. But after Pompey had entirely thrown himself into Cafar's Hands, why should I have endeavoured to take him off? It had been foolish to have

hoped,

h This was the great Failure of Cicero's Politicks. He had done a great deal for Pompey, nay, to a Degree of Adulation; yet he took his Measures to ill, that he put Pompey, who, it would appear, had still a secret Contempt for him, upon a Necessity of dropping him, which proved the Cause of all his sub sequent Misfortunes,

hoped, it had been presumptuous to have at-

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But, say you, two Junctures happened, in which I advised Pompey to oppose Cafar, You have my leave to blame both these Measures if you can. The first was, that the five Years Command of Cafar ! should not be prorogued: The other, that Pompey should not fuffer any Regard to be had to Cafar's In either of which Measures had I Absence. fucceeded, never had we fallen into these Calamities. Yet, at the same time, after Pompey had transferred his own Power, and that of all the Roman Empire, to Cafar, when he hegan too late to be sensible of what I had early foreseen; and when I perceived that an unnatural War was to break out against my Country, with unwearied Pains did I labour to promote Peace, Harmony, and a Reconciliation; to many is the Exclamation I then used known. I wish, O Pompey, that you never had contracted, or never had broken your Friendskip with Cafar. The one bad been confiltent

This was a great Error in Pompey and Crassus. They obtained, by their Interest in the Senate, a Prorogation of Gassar's Command in Gaul, which gave him an Opportunity of gaining Glory and Riches, and garbling his Army, and hardening it so in the Field, as to be an Over-match for the Forces of the Republic.

fistent with your Patriotism, the other with your Prudence. Such, Mark Anthony, were my Counsels, both with regard to Pompey and the State. Had they been pursued, still had the Constitution stood, and you must have fallen by your Crimes, your Indigence and Infamy.

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But these are Instances of an old Date; one is later, that Cæsar was killed by my Advice. I am here, Fathers Conscript, apprehensive of a very scandalous Charge, since it may appear as if I had set up this Shuffler to load me not only with my own Merits, but those of others. For who ever heard of my Name among those who were upon the Concert of that glorious Action? Yet whose Name, amongst all who were, was concealed? Concealed did I say? Whose Name was not immediately published? I should be more ready to charge some with falsely boasting that they were in the Secret, than with concealing it if they were.

T 4

Besides,

m Our Author, though perhaps he was sensible that Pompey was no more a Patriot than Casar; yet, as he had been guilty of no Overt Act against the State, and was the General of the Republic; Cicero here mentions his Gravitas, which I have ventured to translate Patriotism, as thinking that that wa Cicero's real Meaning.

BESIDES, how probable is it, that among fo many, partly Men of no Figure, partly young Men, who concealed no body, my Name should have been kept a Secret? For if those Deliverers of their Country had wanted Promptors to that Action, needed I to have prompted the two Bruti, who each had the Statue of Lucius Brutus every Day in his Eye, and one of them that of Abala besides? Would Men descended of such Progenitors, have asked Advice of Strangers, rather than of their own Friends, abroad rather than at home? How Caius Cassius, born of a Family impatient not only of Sovereignty, but of Superiority in any other Person, wanted, very probable indeed, that I should prompt him, though he would have done the Thing without his illustrious Partners in Cilicia, at the Mouth of the River Cydnus, had not the other landed upon a Bank opposite to where he intended.

Was it my Persuasion, and not the Ruin of his illustrious Father, the Death of his Uncle, the bereaving him of his Honours, that prompted Cneius Domitius to recover Liberty? Did I persuade C. Trebonius? I would not have ventured even to have reasoned with him on such a Subject; and therefore his Country

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owes him greater Thanks, in that to the Friendship of one Man, he preferred the Liberty of all Rome, and chose to be the Expeller rather than the Partner of Usurpation. Was L. Tillius Cimber a determined by my Advice? Though I rather was surprised that he should perform, than of Opinion that he would undertake such an Action; and for this Reason did I admire him, that, regardless of Favours, he regarded the Commonwealth.

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Why should I mention the two Servilie? Shall I call them Cascas or Abalas? Can'st thou imagine that they also were fired by my Persuasion, rather than Love for their Country? Tedious it would seem to recount the rest. That their Number was so great, was to their Country's Honour, and their own Glory-

Bur mark in what Manner this penetrating Person has convicted me: When Casar was killed, says he, Marcus Brutus, holding aloft his bloody Dagger, call'd out upon Cicero

by

n Seneca, in his Epistles to Lucullus, says, that this Cimber was a notorious Drunkard, and that, nevertheless, the Secret of Casar the Dictator's Death was as much entrusted to him, as it was to Cassius, who all his Life had drank nothing but Water.

Orulius Servilius the Father, was Consul in the Year of the City 674, and having taken the Towns of the Isauri, he assumed the Sirname of Isauricus, His Son was twice Consul.

by Name, and congratulated him on the Recovery of Liberty. But why did he fingle out me? Because I was Accessary? Take Care that the Reason of his calling upon me was not, that as he had performed an Action which might match what I had done, he called me above all Men, to witness, that he there appeared as the Rival of my Glory. But, thou consummate Driveler, dost thou not understand, if what thou chargest me with, the entering into a Design to kill Casar, be a Crime, that it is equally criminal to rejoice at his Death? For where is the Difference of the Adviser and the Approver of an Action? Or what matters it whether I wished to see, or was glad to find it done? Is there therefore a Man, excepting thyself, and they who rejoice at this Usurpation, who was either against its being effected, or condemned it when it was? The Crime therefore was universal; for all good Men, as much as they could, were acceffary to the Death of Cafar. In some the Resolution, in others the Spirit, to others the Opportunity was wanting; but in none the Will.

But mark the Stupidity of the Man, rather let me fay the Brute, for such were his Words: TO BI

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Words: MARCUS BRUTUS, WHOM I NAME TO DO HIM HONOUR, HOLDING UP THE BLOODY DAGGER, CALLED ALOUD UPON CICERO: THEREFORE MAY WE CONCLUDE THAT HE WAS ACCESSARY. Therefore you call me a Villain, because you suspect that I suspected somewhat: Yet this Man who reared the reeking Dagger, is by you named to do bim, Honour! Be it so. Let the Stupidity be in thy Words. How much greaten is that of thy Sentiments and Actions? Decide, my worthy Conful, the Merits of the Caufe of the Bruti, Caius Cassius, Cneius Damitius, Caius Trebonius, and the rest? Sleep out thy Liquor, let me advise thee, and dispel the Fumes of the Wine. Must Torches be brought to arouse thee flumbering over so weighty a Cause? Canst thou never understand, that thou must determine whether they who committed that Action were Murderers, or the Afferters of Liberty?

YET attend but ever so little, snatch one lucid Interval to think as a sober Man. For I, who confess myself to be their Friend, am charged by you as being their Accomplice; I deny that there is any Medium; I confess, that if they were not the Deliverers of the

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Roman People, and the Preservers of this Constitution, they were worse than Assassins. worse than Murderers, nay worse than Parricides; in as much as a Man's killing his natural Father, is not a Crime of so deep a Dye, as that of killing the Father of his Country. Thou, wife and deliberate as thou art, how fay'ft thou? If they are Parricides, why were they constantly made honourable mention of by thee, both in this Affembly, and before the People of Rome? Why had Brutus, upon thy Motion, a Dispensation from the Laws, of being above ten Days absent from the City? Why, with the amazing Applauses of Brutus, were the Plays of Apollo perform'd? Why Provinces allotted to Cassius and to Brutus? Why Quæstors added? Why the Number of their Deputies augmented? These were thy own Acts and Deeds, therefore are they not Murderers. It follows, that in your own Judgment they are Saviours of the State, fince no middle Denomination can be found.

What's the Matter? Do I disconcert you? Perhaps you do not perfectly understand what is so clearly laid down. The whole of what I have been saying, is this: Since by thee they have been acquitted of Guilt, by thee they

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they have been adjudged worthy of the highest Rewards. Therefore now I will change the Strain of my Discourse; I will write to them, that in case they should be asked, if what you object to me is Truth, they should not disown it. For I am afraid that it may be thought dishonourable in them to conceal it from me, or scandalous in me to decline it when invited. For, O Holy Jove! was there ever a greater Action performed not only in this City, but in this World? Any Thing more glorious, any Thing that can more endear the Actors to all the Ages of Posterity? Dost thou shut me up with Heroes, into the Trojan Horse of this great Design ? I will not disown it.

I EVEN return you Thanks, whatever your Intentions are; for so glorious is the Action, that I slight the Malice which you endeavour to raise against me, when I reslect on the Honour that attends it. For can there be a more glorious Fate, than that of the Men whom you declare you have expelled and banished?

Is

P It is said, that the Grecian Princes were shut up in a wooden Horse, and that they sallied out thence in order to overturn Troy. Vide Virgil II. Lib. Eneid. Pliny Book VII. thinks that the Trojan Horse was a Machine intended for destroying and beating down Walls, and that it was the same with the Aries made by Epens.

Is there a Place so desert, so barbarous, as, when they shall approach it, not to court and entertain them? Are there Men in the World so savage, as not to think their beholding them, the greatest Blessing of their Lives? What Posterity shall be found so unmindful, what Records so ungrateful, as not to crown their Memory with immortal Renown? Yet you enroll me in this glorious Number.

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But there is one Thing which I am afraid of; namely, that you cannot prove your Affertion: For had I been in the Concert, I should have abolished out of the State, not the Tyrant only, but Tyranny itself: And had that STILE, as it is given out, been mine, believe me, I should not only have dispatched one Act, but the whole Play. But if it is a Crime to have wished for the Death of Cassar, show can you, Anthony, unswer for it, when it is notorious, that at Narbonne you entered into that Plot with Caius Trebonius, and because

This City is the most ancient of all Gaul, and gives its Name to the whole Province in which it lies.

when the Conspirators were consulting among themselves about the killing Confar, it was debated among them, whether they should invite Anthony to accomplish their Design; but I rebonius opposed the Motion, pretending, that he was no Stranger to the Sentiments of Anthony with Regard to this Matter, since he had already endeavoured to push him on to it.

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cause you had been once in that Design, we saw you when Casar was killing, called aside by the same Trebonius. Indeed (you see how unlike a Foe I deal) in that you once could entertain a good Design, you have my Approbation; in that you did not betray it, my Thanks; and in that you did not execute it, my Pardon. The Execution required a Man.

But should any one bring you to a Tryal, and apply to you the Saying of Cassius, What Purpose could it serve? Beware, I entreat you, that you be not puzzled. Though indeed, as you yourself owned, it serv'd the Purposes of every Man who was resolved not to be a Slave. But your's above all, who are so far from being a Slave, that you are a King. Who at the Temple of Ops paid all your immense Debts? Who, by Means of the Notes I have mentioned, squandered a prodigious Sum? Thou, to whom such a Treasure was carried from Cassar's House. Thou, whose House is the most lucrative Shop for counter-

at that Time when Cafar was returning from Gaul. He represented at the same Time, that Anthony resused to comply with what he proposed, but that he had nevertheless kept the Secret faithfully. For which Reason it was again debated among them, whether they should kill Anthony along with Cafar; but Brutus opposed this, because he thought that an Affair undertaken in Desence of Liberty, and the Laws of one's Country, ought, if possible, to be managed in a popular Manner.

counterfeit Notes and fictitious Writings, the infamous Market - place for Lands, Towns, Privileges, and Revenues.

What then but the Death of Cafar could have relieved thy Necessities, and paid thy Debts? You seem to be disconcerted about something. Are you apprehensive lest this Charge may be thought to extend itself to you? I will rid you of your Apprehensions. No body will believe it; it is not for you to do a Service to your Country. The Heroes in that gallant Action were the most illustrious Men in this Republic. I say only, that you was pleased with it; I do not charge you with committing it. Thus have I answered the most heinous Part of my Accusation, let me now proceed to the other.

You objected to me, my Behaviour in Pompey's Camp, and what was done at that Juncture. A Juncture, in which had my Advice and Authority prevailed, thou must at this Time have been opprest with Want, and

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^{*} Anthony had Reason to be pleased at the Death of Casar, fince from it he reaped great Advantages; for in Consequence of it, he drained the Treasury, and using too much Freedom with his Pocket-Books, and Memorandums, disposed of Provinces to whom he had a Mind.

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we in the Enjoyment of Liberty; nor would the State have loft fo many Generals', and fo many Armies. For I own, that when I forefaw what actually happened, I was as much dejected as other good Patriots, had they forefeen the fame, would have been. It afflicted me, much did it afflict me, Fathers Conscripts that this Constitution, once preserved by your Conduct and mine, was in a short Time to be ruined. Not that I was fo uninstructed, for unexperienced in the World, as that my Spirit should be broken through a Passion for a Life, the Continuance of which but confumed me with Anguish, while the Loss of it would have delivered me from all Troubles: but I was willing to preserve alive those excellent Men, the Lights of the Republic, of fo many Consular, so many of Pretorian Dignity, fo many honourable Senators, besides the whole Flower of our Nobility and Youth, and an Army of worthy Citizens; had these lived, even though it had been upon unequal Terms of Peace (for any Peace to me seemed preferable to a Civil War among my Countrythen) this Day WE had been in the Possession of the Government.

Vol. II.

HAD

In that Civil War, some very great Men perished, vize Pompey, Cato, Pelleius, and Africanius.

HAD my Advice prevailed, and had not they whose Preservation I had chiefly in my Eye, flushed with the Hopes of Victory, opposed it, to say no more, thou never hadst remained in this Order, or rather in this City. But my Language, say you, made Pompey look upon me but very coldly. Did he ever love any Man more than he loved me? Was there a Man with whom he oftener talked, whom he oftener confulted? This indeed was very extraordinary, that two People differing upon the most important Points of Politics, I should still continue the same Intercourse of Friendship. But his Views and Sentiments were known to me, and mine to him. I had an Eye first to the Safety, next to the Dignity of my Countrymen; his chief View was providing for their immediate Dignity. And as both of 'us had a fixed Point of View, which we pursued, therefore our Disagreement was very moderate. But the Sentiments of that incomparable, that almost Divine Perfon, with regard to me, are known to those who accompanied him to Paphos u in his Flight from Pharfalia: Never did he mention

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[&]quot; Pompey, after the Battle of Pharfalia, fled to Paphos, 2 Town of Cyprus, built by Appagenor.

against ANTONIUS. 291

tion me but with Honour, never but with Marks of the most friendly Regret, and confessing that I foresaw more; but that he had hoped for better Events. And dare you presume to insult me by the Mention of that Man, while you own, that I was the Friend of his Person, and you the Purchaser of his Estate?

But I pals over that War, in which you was but too successful. I will not take Notice even of the Jokes in the Camp, which you lay upon me. The Camp indeed was a Camp full of Care; but Men, even while their Situation is perplexed, if they are Men, sometimes unbend their Spirits. But since he at once blames me both for my Dejection and my Mirth, it is a strong Presumption that I went into no Extreme of either. You deny that I have received any Legacies. I wish

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fatirical, Turn. Of the Truth of this we have several Proofs, wiz. when Pompey said to him, Sero wenis Cicero, he replied, Non fero, nibil enim wideo paratum. In like Manner, when Pompey said Victoria in manu oft mei, Cicero added, Si tibi negotium esset cum malieribus. And after the Battle of Pharsalia, when one Nonnius exhorted his Countrymen to take Courage, because there were still seven of the Roman Hagles remaining; Cicero answered, Recte admones si adversus Graculos pugnaremus. These are some Instances of Cicero's Wit: Whether it is of the true and genuine Kind, I leave the Reader to judge for himself.

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that Charge of yours was true; then must many more of my Friends and Relations have been now alive. But how could that come into your Head? For I have been Master of more than 156000 %. by Legacies. Though in that respect I own, that you have been a great deal more lucky than I. None but Friends mentioned me in their Wills, that fome Advantage might attend my Grief for losing them. Lucius Rubricus Cassinas *, 2 Man whom you never faw, made you his Heir. See now what Affection he had for you, when without knowing the Colour of your Hair, he passed by his own Brother's Son in your Favour. He does not so much as mention in his Will, Quintus Fusius, a Roman Knight of the greatest Worth, in the greatest Friendship with himself, whom he had often publickly promised should be his Heir; and he named as his Heir you, whom he never faw, with whom, at least, he never was in Company. If it is not giving you too much Trouble, I would ask you, what kind of a Man in his Person was Lucius Tursellius? How tall was he? Of what Corporation, and of what Ward? I cannot tell, fay you, but I

^{*} Cassinum is a Town in Campania, situate near the Place where the Via Appia and the Via Latina run into one anoher.

can tell you what Estates he had. Therefore he difinherited his Brother, and made you his Heir. He likewise, to the Prejudice of the true Heirs, has laid his Hands upon the proper Effect of a great many other People who were absolute Strangers to him. greatest Surprise is, that you should have the Presumption to mention Heirsbips, when you yourself was not Heir even to your own Father.

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WAs it to pick up these Stories, thou Madman, that you held forth for fo many Days at another Person's Country Seat? Though indeed your Intimates give out, that you hold forth not to improve your Understanding, but to evaporate your Wine; and to complete the Farce, you appointed a Master, one who in your and your Companions Eyes, is a Rhetorician, with Liberty to speak against you as much as he pleased. A very pleasant Fellow indeed! But it is a very easy Matter to find Subject enough against you and your Friends. Observe however the Difference betwixt you and your Grandfather v. He spoke gradually, coolly, and to the Purpose; you **speak**

[&]quot; His Grandfather was that celebrated Orator Mark Anthony to much spoke of by Gicero in his Book De Orgeore,

1994 CICERO'S ORATION

Speak hastily and slightly, and what you say,
is not to the Purpose.

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Bur what Wages have you paid to your Master in Rhetoric? Hear, hear Fathers Conscript, and perceive the Wounds of your You have allotted two thousand Acres of the Leontine Lands, Tax-free, to Sextus Clodius, Professor of Rhetoric; you gave him those extravagant Wages, that you might remain a Dunce. Frontless Fellow. did you do this by Virtue of Calar's Journals? But in another Place I will talk of the Leontine and Campanian Lands, of which he has robbed the Public, that he might pollute them with his Ecoundrel Tenants. For now, as I have faid enough in answer to his Charge against me, give me Leave to touch a little upon this Corrector and Amender of mine; for I will not exhaust my Subject, that if we should happen oftener to mount the Stage, as must be the Case, I may still fight with new Weapons; an Advantage for which I am obliged to his inexhaustible Fund of Guilt and Wickedness. Have you a Mind that I should examine your Conduct when you was but a Lad?

Land's being ferrile.

against ANTONIUS. 295 Lad? With all my Heart: Let us begin at your first setting out.

Do you remember, that before you put on the manly Gown you was bankrupt? That, fay you, is not my Fault, but my Father's: I grant it; for the Excuse is full of filial Duty. But your Impudence appeared in your fitting in one of the fourteen Rows in the Theatre, when by the Roscian Law there was a particular Place set apart for Bankrupts, even though they had become fuch not through their Mifmanagement, but their ill Luck. You appeared in the Gown of a Man, but you quickly changed it with the Dress of a Woman. At first you was a common Whore; the Wages of your Prostitution were fixed and high; but Curio foon interposed; he took you out of the Profession of a Prostitute; and as if he had cloathed you in the Array of a Bride, he settled you in sure and certain Wedlock!

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and the Year of the City 682. Lucius Ruscius Citis, a Tribune of the People, enacted a Law, that fourteen Forms thould be set apart for the Roman Knights on the Theatre. But those of them who, either through their own Mismanagement, or bad Luck, had lost their Litates, had no Right to sit in these Forms.

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No Boy bought to fatiate Lust was ever for much in his Master's Power, as you was in Curio's. How often did his Father thrust you out of his House? How often did he place Sentinels to prevent your croffing his Threshold? Yet you, favoured by Night, prompted by Luft, and compelled by Hire, was let down through the Roof; Disorders which that Family could no longer bear with. Are you not conscious that I mention no more than I very well know? Reflect upon the Time when Curio the Father lay disconsolate in his Bed; when his Son prostrate in Tears at my Feet recommended you to my Care; begged that though he should infift upon above forty-eight thousand Pounds, yet that I should protect you against his own Father; for that he was engaged for you to that Amount. At the fame time burning with Passion, he declared, fince he could not bear the Pangs of a Separation from you, that he would go into Banishment.

AT that Juncture I composed, or rather I cured these afflicting Disorders of that slourishing Family: I persuaded the Father to pay his Son's Debts. To clear in the World, by means

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means of his private Estate, a Youth who gave the greatest Hopes of being endowed with every Accomplishment of Sense and Wit; and by his paternal Power and Authority, to debar him not only from being intimate, but from keeping Company with you. Had you called to Mind what I did at that Time, had you not trusted to those Swords, would you have dared to challenge me by your Railing?

I SHALL pass over your Prostitution, and your scandalous Intrigues; there being some Circumstances which I cannot with Decency mention, though the Knowledge of this gave you the greater Liberty, fince the Charge which lies against you cannot be urged by any Antagonist, who has a Sense of Decency. But observe the remaining Course of his Life; and this I shall very quickly run over: For my Mind hurries me to speak of his Actions during the Civil Wars, and amidst the most afflicting Calamities of his Country, and of what he is daily now perpetrating: To the Relation of these, though you are much better acquainted with them than I am, yet continue, I entreat you, your Attention: For in fuch Actions the Passions ought to be fired,

not only by knowing, but by recollecting them. I shall however enter upon the middle Stage of his Life, lest it may be too late before I reach the last.

DURING his Tribunethip, this Man, who boasts of his Kindness to me, was intimate with Clodius. He was the Firebrand of all his incendiary Proceedings. As to what he then contrived at his House, I shall say nothing, he himself best understands my Meaning. From thence he went to Alexandria, in Defiance of the Authority of the Senate, of the Government, and of religious Rites. But he had Gabinius for his Leader, with whom he could not but do every Thing in the best Manner. When, or how did he return thence? He went from Egypt to the farther Gaul, before he went to his own House. But what House? Every body at that Time had a House of his own, but you had none. A House did I say! Was there a Place on Earth, where you could fet your Foot, except Misenus alone.

"This Gabinius was a very covetous Fellow, and was fent Proconful to reduce Ptolemy King of Egypt.

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b Anthony was very intimate with Clodius the Tribune of the People; but when he saw he had many Enemies, he left him and sailed into Greece.

against ANTONIUS. 209 alone, which, like another Sisapa's, you and your Campanions possessed?

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You left Gaul to stand for the Quastorship. Dare you say you visited your Mother before me? Cafar had then wrote to me, that I would suffer you to make Satisfaction; therefore I would not suffer you so much as to mention any Apology. I was afterwards your Patron, and I countenanced you when you flood for the Quæstorship; at which Time indeed you attempted, with the Approbation of all Rome, to kill Publius Clodius in the Forum: And though this Attempt was the Effect of what you yourself had resolved, and not of what I suggested, yet you professed that you never could fatisfy me for the injuries you had done me, unless you killed Clodius, I am therefore surprized why you say that Mile dispatched him through my Instigation, when I never gave you the least Encouragement, when you voluntarily made the very fame Offer. Though if your Resolution had fill continued, I should have chose that that Action should be looked upon as honourable

d Sisapo was a Town in Corduba, in Spain, famous for its Mines of Red-Lead. Cicero mentions it here by Way of Infamy. It alludes, probably, to some Proverb taken from the Collusion among the Farmers, in whose Hands it was, or from their working under Ground.

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for you, rather than advantageous for me. You was made Quæstor, and instantly without any Decree of the Senate, without any Allotment, without any Law, you hurried over to Cæsar; for that you thought to be the only Course by which, upon this Earth, Want, Debt, Villainy, and desperate Circumstances could find Shelter. There, when by his Profusion and your own Rapine you had glutted yourself (if it can be said you was glutted with what you were immediately to disgorge) you slew, needy as you was, into the Tribuneship, that you might, as sar as you could, imitate the Conduct of your Husband in that Office.

LEARN now, I befeech you, not what relates to the Impurity and Intemperance of his domestic Disgrace, but to his impious and unnatural Conduct against us and our Fortune; or, which is the same thing, against the whole State; because you will find, that from his Wickedness all our Calamities had their Birth; for, when under the Consulate of Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus, you shewed a Willingness to support your weakened and almost falling Country, on the first of January,

· Viz. Cicero.

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nuary, and defired to favour Caius Cafar himfelf, could he have been brought to a right way of Thinking: Then did Anthony oppose the venal, the proftitute Tribuneship, to difconcert your Designs, and subjected his own Neck to that Ax, under which many for less Crimes had fallen. But, Mark Anthony, against you, the Senate, while it was flourishing, and so many of its Lights unextinguished, decreed that Punishment which, by the Ufage of our Ancestors, was commonly decreed against an Enemy of his Country. And have you prefumed to speak against me before the Senate, though by this Order I have been adjudged to be the Preserver, and you the Enemy of the State? The Mention of this your Guilt, has been indeed omitted, but not the Remembrance of it abolished, while Mankind, while the Glory of the Roman People shall remain; that Glory, which if not extinguished by you, must be eternal, so long shall that pestilentious Opposition of yours be mentioned. Was there a partial, was there a rash Step taken by the Senate, when you, a fingle Youth, restrained that whole Order from decreeing what related to the public Safety? This was not once, but often; nor would you admit of any Representations, or any

any treating upon the Authority of the Sez Yet what was their Intention, but to prevent you from utterly abolishing and ruining the Government; when neither the Requests of your leading Citizens, the Advice of your Elders, nor the Debates of a numerous Senate, could shake your venal, your determined Resolution? Then after many previous Temptations, that Blow was necessarily inflicted on you, which before you few had felt, but none without fuffering by its Weight Then did this Order put Arms against you into the Hands of the Confols, and our other Commanders and Powers, which you never could have escaped, had you not inlifted yourfelf in Gafar's Army

You, Mark Anthony, you, I say, was the Chief who furnished Casar, whose Passion was to throw every thing into Confusion, with a Pretext of making War upon his Country. For what other Pretext had he? What Motive did he alledge for his outragious Conduct and Actions, except the Neglect of the Interposition, the setting aside of the Tribunitial Power, and the Limitations imposed upon Anthony by the Senate? I shall not say how salfe, how trisling all this is, especially as it is impossible

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impossible for any Man ever to have a justifiable Reason for taking up Arms against his Country. But to fay nothing of Cafar, yet you must allow that the Cause of this most detestable War was grounded in your Person. How wretched are you if you understand, how much more wretched if you do not understand that this is committed to History. that this stands upon Record, and that no Posterity in all After-ages shall ever be ignorant or unmindful of this Fact : That the Confuls were driven from Italy, and with them Pompey, the Light and Ornament of the Roman Empire, all the Confulate, whose State of Health would fuffer them to join in that Rout and Flight: That they who either were, or had been Prætors, the Tribunes of the People, a great Part of the Senate, the whole Body of their Youth in a Word, that our Government was driven or exterminated from its Abodes!

THUS, as the Growth of Trees and Vegetables shoots from the Seed, you are the Seed of this most calamitous War. Ye mourn the Slaughter of three Roman Armies: They were staughtered by Anthony. Ye bewail the Loss of our most illustrious Citizens: It was

Anthony likewise who snatched them away The Authority of this Order is abolified: It is abolished by Anthony. All the Scene of Calamity that afterwards appeared to our Eyes (and what Species of Calamity has not appear. ed?) if we reason rightly on the Matter, was owing to Anthony alone. As Helen to the Trojans, fo to this Republic was Anthony the Cause of War, Calamity, and Destruction, The rest of his Conduct, as Tribune, was of a piece with its Commencement. He effected all that the Precaution of the Senate. while the Constitution was inviolated, had taken Care should not be effected. But how villainoully he exercised his Villainy, you yourselves He restored many who had been shall judge. condemned, but never mentioned his Uncle. If he was fevere, why did not his Severity extend to all? If he was pitiful, why did not his Pity reach his own Relations? But He has restored Licinius the rest I omit. Denticula', his Playfellow, who was condemned as a Gamester, as if indeed it was unlawful to play with one who was condemned;

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he shews that Anthony, as he himself expresses it, was villainous even in the Exercise of Villainy, because he suffered his own Uncle to live in Banishment, yet restored a common Sharper.

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WHAT Reason did you alledge before the People of Rome for his being restored? To be fure an Information had been granted against the Party in his Absence! Sentence was passed before the Cause was opened! There was no express Statute against playing at Dice; he was overpowered by Force and Arms; in short, as was faid of your Uncle, the Trial was under a pecuniary Influence. None of these was the Canse: But he was a good Man, and a worthy Patriot: That's nothing to the Purpose: But when he restored the most infamous of Mankind, a Man who did not scruple to play in the Forum at Dice, a Man who was condemned upon the Statute prohibiting that Game, does he not himself avow his Passion for Play?

But in the same Tribuneship when Casar, after his marching into Spain, had delivered Italy to be trampled upon by this Antbony, Vol. II. X what

This appears to have been an aggravating Circumstance among the Romans; for we find, by a Law passed by Sylla, that all Gaming was prohibited, except it was for Improvement in personal Exercise; such as throwing the Spear, Running, Jumping, Wrestling, and Boxing.

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what a Progress did he make over the Country! What a Review of our municipal Cities ! I know that I am now treating of Facts, that of all others are most publickly in Every-body's Mouth, and what I either now speak, or am to speak, is better known to those who were then in Italy, than to me who was not. Yet will I point at the Facts particularly; though all that I can say, must fall short of what you yourselves know. Was ever so lewd, so polluted, so scandalous a Conduct heatd of in this World?

A TRIBUNE of the People was carried in a Car, Lawrel'd Lictors led the Procession, and an Actress was borne about in an open Sedan. As the Citizens and Men of Credit in the Towns were obliged to meet her on the Road, they did not accost her by her own notorious and theatrical Name, but by that of Polumnia. A Waggon followed, full of Bawds, and the lewdest of Attendants, while the slighted Mother followed the Strumpet of her polluted Son, as if she had been his Bride: Wretched Woman, unhappy in the Fruitfulness of thy Womb!

The Words in the Original are Luffratio Municipiorum; which fignifies, a Reviewing of the Municipal Cities, with a Design to know who were fit for his Purpose, and who not.

against ANTONIUS.

397 Womb! With the Traces of this Lewdness did he mark all our Corporations, our Presfectures, our Colonies, and in short, all Italy.

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DOUBTEUL and dangerous it is, Fathers Conferint, to blame his other Actions '. is a Man of the Sword, and his Sword he has glutted with the Blood of his Countrymen far unlike himself. Happy he was, if any Happiness can ever affociate with Guilt, But as I must beware of reproaching his Veterans. and left he should provoke their Indignation against me, I will say nothing of the Nature of the War. Though after all, the Case of the Soldiers is quite different from yours; they followed, but you fought a Leader; you returned victorious from Thessaly to Brundusium with the Legions, There you did not kill A mighty Favour indeed! For I confess it was in your Power. There was not a Man who attended you, who did not think that you ought to spare me; for so strong is the Passion for our Country, that even to your Legions I appeared a facred Person, because they remembered that by me their Country was

Our Author very wifely, and at the same Time very artfully takes Notice on every Occasion, that while he is speaking, he speaks with the Sword at his Throat.

B

was preserved. But admitting you gave me a Thing which you did not take away, and that I now possess Life, because you did not rob me of it; is it possible for me to look upon my Preservation as a Favour, since such has been by Provocation from you since that, I am obliged to speak what you now hear?

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You came to Brundusium in the very Bosom, and the Arms of your little Actress. How! Do I lie!? How wretched it is to be unable to deny what it is shameful to confess! If you was not ashamed before our municipal Cities, was you as insensible before your Veteran Army? For was there a Soldier, who did not see her at Brundusium? Who did not know that she came so many Days Journey to wish you Joy? Was there a Man who did not grieve that he should be so late in knowing what a worthless Fellow he served?

You made a fecond Tour of Italy, attended by the same Actress. Cruel and miserable was the quartering of your Soldiers upon the Towns; and scandalous was the Plunder of Gold

It is hard to translate the little Interjections that Cicers throws in through the Whole of this Oration; and indeed it is almost impossible for an English Reader to read it (without confulting the Original) with any Pleasure.

Gold and Silver, but especially Wine in the City; and besides all this, Casar knowing nothing of the Matter while he was at Alexandria, Anthony, by the Favour of his Friends, was appointed General of the Horse. he thought he had a Right to live with Hippia uncontrouled, and to deliver the Tributary Horses to Sergius the Player. He then chose the House of Marcus Piso, and not the House which he now so unworthily fills. should I disclose his Decrees, his Rapaciousness, the Legacies which he unjustly bestowed, and those which he violently forced? He was pinched by want; to what Hand to turn himfelf he knew not; he had not as yet come to the large Estate, which was left him by Lucius Rubrius, and that left him by Lucius Turfelius; he had not yet all of a fudden started up the Heir of Pompey, and a great many others who were absent. As yet he was obliged to act in the Manner of Robbers, who live from Hand to Mouth on what they plunder.

But let me no longer talk of his Actions as a common Robber, let me rather pass on X 3

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It is very hard to determine upon what Account these Horses were furnished; it is most probable, that they were a Kind of Perquisite to the General of the Horse, furnished by the Public for his Equipage.

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to the more scandalous Circumstances of his Levity ". At the Marriage of Hippia, fuch a Load of Wine did you pour down that Throat into these Sides, and so thoroughly did you foak all that Prize-fighting Person of yours, that you was in a Necessity of disgorging it next Day in Sight of the People of Rome. A Circumstance detestable, not only in seeing, but in hearing? Had you done this in the Time of Supper, amidst your extravagant Debauch of Drinking, who would not have thought it scandalous? But in a full Affembly of the Roman People, vested with a public Character, the General of the Horse, in whom it must have been scandalous even to belch, vomited, and filled his own Bosom, and all the Tribunal with indigested Morsels, fmelling rank of Wine; but this he acknowledges to be one of his Blots. Let us now proceed to his Beauties.

Casar went to Alexandria, happy indeed in his own Eyes, but in mine, if Rebellion against his Country can make a Man unhappy, he

Head and his Heart, than Inconstancy and Levity: Hence it is that the Word Levitas is taken in a general bad Sense, as well for the Want of Morals as of Sense.

he must have been wretched. At a public Auction, before the Temple of JUPITER the Stayer, the Goods of Pompey, (How wretched am I! my Tears indeed are spent, but my Grief is lively) the Goods, I say, of the great Pompey, were put up by the doleful Voice of a public Cryer. In this fingle Instance did this City groan, forgetful of her Slavery; and though every Man's Soul was enthralled, being all over-awed by Fear, yet the Groans of the People of Rome found a free Passage. While all were wondering, who would be for impious, so frantic, so much an Enemy to Gods and Men, as to dare to bid at this detestable Sale! None was found besides Anthony. This was the more remarkable, as there stood around the Auctioneer, Men who boggled at nothing elfe. There was found but one Man who durft venture to do what the most presumptuous Man alive had avoided and dreaded.

DID then such Stupidity, or rather such Frenzy, seize you, as to be ignorant, that while you, descended of such a Family, stood X 4

The Reader will no doubt, of himself, observe what a vast Difference our Author makes betwint a living and a dead Cosar; Who could imagine that this is the same Person with him to whom the Orations for Marcellus and Ligarius were addressed?

as a Bidder in that Place, and a Bidder too for the Goods of Pompey, you was the Object of the Curses, the Detestation of the Roman People, and the present and future Resentment of both Gods and Men? But with what Insolence did this voracious Miscreant seize upon the Goods of that Patriot, whose Courage rendered the Romans terrible, and whose Justice endeared them to foreign Nations!

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HAVING, therefore, all of a sudden immersed himself in the Riches of this great Man, like the Character in the Play, there was but a little Time betwixt his Want and Wealth. But, as a Poet, I don't know who he is, expresses it, What slightly comes, slightly goes: It is incredible, it is prodigious, how much Wealth he squandered in a few, I will not say Months but Days. Large was the Quantity of Wine, large the Services of masty Plate, not coftly Apparel, and of fine Furniture, nobly fitted up for various Places, such as befitted not Luxury indeed, but Plenty; yet in a few Days they were all diffipated. Was Charibdis herself so voracious? What do I-talk of Charibdis! Charibdis, if ever there was a Charibdis, was but a fingle Monster. By Heayens it seemed impossible for the Ocean it-

felf fo quickly to swallow down fo much Wealth, so widely separated, and situated in fo very various Places! Nothing remained thut or fealed up; nothing was even marked by Writing; whole Cellars of Wine were lavished upon the greatest Miscreants; some Things became the Plunder of Actors, some of Actreffes; his House was crammed with Gamesters and Drunkards; the Debauch went round for whole Days in different Places; many likewise were his Play-Debts, for even Anthony was not always lucky. There you might have seen the purple Quilts of Pompey bedecking the Beds of Slaves in their Bed-Rooms. Cease then to wonder that all this Wealth was so suddenly diffipated; for such Profusion must have quickly confumed not only the Fortune of one Man, however, great as that was, but Cities and Kingdoms.

Even his Houses and Gardens were swallowed up. Frontless Impudence! for you to presume to enter that House; to cross that most awful Threshold; to present that ominous Countenance before Houshold Gods of that Family! Did you not blush to dwell so long in a House which none could behold, and none could pass by for a long time without shedding

314 CICERO'S ORATION shedding Tears? A House in which, however

fenseless you may be, it was impossible that

ought should give you Pleasure.

E

Dip you think you was entering into your own House, when you beheld the naval Spoils which adorned its Porch ? By no Means; for, senseless and regardless as you are, yet still you know yourself, your Abilities, Friends. Nor do I indeed believe that it was possible for you not to be distracted both afleep and awake; let you be ever fo violent and frantic, when the Form of that matchless Hero presented to your Imagination, you must, if asleep, have awakened in Horror, and often, if awake, have been seized with Frenzy.

For my Part, indeed, I compassionate its very Walls and Roofs: For what did that House ever behold but what was modest, but what discovered the greatest Purity of Conduct, the greatest Sanctity of Manners? For Pompey, Fathers Conscript, you well know, was a Man equally to be admired in his pri-

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[.] The Roman, it would feem, had a great Pride, in ornamenting their Porches, and the Avenues to their Houses. Pompey, having been very fuccessful in the War against the Pyrates, had his ornamented with Naval Spoils.

vate, as he was eminent in his public Capacity. Nor was his Conduct abroad more glorious than his Oeconomy at home was amiable. Yet under his roofs, his Bed-chambers are converted into Brothels, and his Dining-rooms into Drinking-booths. Anthony now denies Give over, give over your Enquiries. all this. He is now commenced an Occonomist; he has divorced his Actress with all the Foramlity of Law; he has taken from her his Keys; he has turned her out of Doors. Would you with for a more creditable fober Citizen. through the whole Course of whose Life the most commendable Action was his divorcing an Actrefs.

How often does he, in a swaggering Fit, talk of his being both Consul and Anthony; or, in other Words, both Consul and a very scandalous Fellow; both Consul and a very great Villain; for what else can you mean by the Word Anthony? For if the Name could have implied any Dignity, no doubt of it, your Grandfather would have sometimes stiled himself both Consul and Anthony. Yet he never did: My Colleague, your Uncle, would have done the same, unless you are the only Person of your Name. But I will pass over these Faults,

Faults, which are not peculiar to that Character in which you have harraffed your Country; let me return to the Scene in which you was distinguished; I mean the Civil War; a War, begun, contrived, and undertaken by your Means.

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on account of your Cowardice as your Lust: You had tasted, or rather swallowed down the Blood of your Countrymen: In the Battle of Pharsalia you led the Van: You had murdered Lucius Domitius, a Man of the greatest Quality and Eminence; after cruelly harrassing, you had butchered many who had escaped from the Battle, whom Casar, as he did to some others, would perhaps have pardoned: After so many and so glorious Actions, why did you not sollow Casar into Africa; especially as so much of the War was yet unfinished? What passed then? In what Favour was you

This Passage is very perplext in the Original. It seems to relate to Anthony's not having Courage to oppose Casar, when he asked him for the Money he owed him.

g The Alexandrian War being finished, which was undertaken by Casar, after the Victory at Pharsalia, he undertook a fresh War against Scipio and Cato in Africa, in which War Anthony did not follow Casar.

r Lucius Domitius Enobarbus was a Man justly famed on Account of his glorious Actions, and before the breaking out of the Civil War was ordered to succeed Casar in Gaul.

you with Cafar upon his return from Africa? In what Rank? As General, you had been his Quæstor; as Dictator, his General of the Horse; you had been the Leader of the War, the Adviser of his Cruelty, the Partner in the Plunder, and as you yourfelf owned, the Heir of his Will. But you was asked for the Money which you owed ' for the House, for the Gardens, and for the Goods.

An first you answered with downright Fierceness: And that I may not seem always to put you in the wrong, I own that what you faid was almost just and equitable. " Ga-" far alk me for Money! Why more than I "ask him!" He has conquered without me? That he could not do. It was I who furnished him with the Pretext for the Civil War, who passed ruinous Laws, who took up Arms against the Consuls and Generals of the Ros man People, against the Gods, the Religion, and the Property of Rome, and against my Country herself. Did he conquer for himself

g knave was how trapped; to v

Before Casar's Death, Authors was by no Means so great a Favourite with him, as he had been during the Civil Wars. Casar's infisting for immediate Payment of the Money which he was to give for Pompey's Estate, was some Proof of this. But after all, there is little Ground to imagine that Cafar's real Defign was to have ruined Anthony; perhaps it was only to have a Check upon his Extravagance, and thus render him more eleful to his own Defigns,

alone? No, if the Guilt was in common, why should not the Booty be in common too? You demanded but what was reasonable, but what did that signify, while he had more Power?

THEREFORE turning a deaf Ear to all you faid, he turned his Soldiers loofe both upon yourself and your Bail; and when that famous Inventory was produced by you, all of a fudden, what Diversion did it afford? That the Rent-Roll should be so large, the Estates so various and fo many, and yet that there should not be a fingle Article, except a Part of Mifenas, which the Seller had a Right to call his own. But miserable was the Appearance which that Sale made; a few of Pompey's Cloaths, and those all sullied; some of his · Silver Plate all battered together, some of his Slaves all in Rags and Nastiness, so that we were grieved that any thing of his should remain for us to fee.

THE Heirs of Lucius Rubrius, however, by a Decree from Cæsar, put a Stop to this Sale. The Knave was now trapped; to what Side he should turn him he did not know. At that very Juncture therefore he sent an Assassin

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to Ciefar's House; who was faid to have been caught with a Dagger in his Hand, of which Cafar complained with bitter Invectives against you in the Senate. Casar went to Spain, having on account of your Poverty. indulged you in a few Days for making up your Payment. You did not even then follow him. What! fo good a Gladiator, yet fo early received your Discharge!

"CAN any one then be afraid of a Man, who is so very backward in what immediately concerned himself, that is in craving his own Fortune? Yet at last to Spain he did go, but he fays it was with Danger that he went. But how did Dolabella make out his March? Anthony, you either ought never to have embraced that Party, or if you did embrace it, to have defended it to the last. Thrice did Cafar fight with his Countrymen in Theffaly, Africa, and Spain.

Delabella was present in all these Battles; and in Spain he received a Wound. In my

This is an Anecdote very probably of Cicero's own. It that Time; but we can have no Reason to believe it true.

u This alludes to Pompey's Children then in Spain, and whom It highly concerned Anthony, who had bought their Father's Estate, to have destroyed.

CICERO'S ORATION 320 own Judgment, indeed I condemn him; bus though I condemn the Principles on which he acted, his Constancy is commendable. But who are you? The Children of Cneius Pompeius first demanded to be restored to their Country. It is allowed, that to oppose this was a Cause in common to you with others. But they demanded the Restitution of their Gods, the Altars, the Property of their Family; they demanded a Restitution of their paternal Estate which you had unjustly seized. As the lawful Claimants to all these demanded them with the Sword in their Hands, though where there is no Right there can be no Justi-

fication, yet still was it very justifiable for the

Intruder upon Pompey's Estate to fight against

Pompey's Heirs.

WHILE at Narbonne you was vomiting a-midst your riotous Entertainments, was not Dolabella fighting for you in Spain? But how did you return from Narbonne? Yet does Anthony demand why I so suddenly returned. Lately, Fathers Conscript, I laid before you the Reason of my Return. I was willing, had it been in my Power, to have done some Service to my Country before the first of January. But as you asked me how I found my way home.

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Anthon ferve, though rest of full of Light,

ogainst ANTONIUS. 321

home: I answer in the first Place, by Day. and not by Night. In the next Place, I was dreffed in a Gown and Shoes, without either wooden Pattins or a short Cloak . So you look upon me with an angry Eye, indeed! Sure you would be glad to be Friends with me, if you knew how much I am ashamed of that Infamy which gives you no Concern. Of all the Indecencies among Mankind, never did I fee any Thing more fcandalous. That you, who looked upon yourfelf as General of the Horse, who designed next Year to sollicit, or rather to demand the Confulship, should through all the Corporations and Colonies of Gaul, in which we used to sollicit for the Confulship, during the Times when it was follicited, and not demanded, that you should run in Wooden Pattins and a short Cloak.

But observe the Levity of the Fellow:
Having come to the red Rocks about the tenth.
Hour of the Day, he slunk into a tippling Booth,
where he concealed himself, and drank hard
Vol. II.

Our Author is here very severe upon the Manner in which Anthony entered Rome, on leaving Gaul. The Reader is to observe, that the Dress alluded to here, was such as the Romans thought highly becoming any Man of Quality or Fortune. The rest of the Description of Anthony's Journey back to Rome, is full of very sine Humour, and represents him in a very ludicrous. Light,

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till Night. Then he drove in his Chaife to the City as fast as he could, and came to his House all muffled up. Says the Porter, who are you? A Letter-Carrier from Marcus, anfwers the other. He is immediately introduced to the Lady, on whose Account he came: and he gives her a Letter, which the reads with Tears. It was indeed lovingly wrote, and contained in Substance, "That from thence-" forward he would have nothing to do with the Actress: That he had transplanted all his Thoughts from the one, and placed it " with the other." At this the wept again, and more plentifully. Then the good-natured Man could not bear it: He unmuffled his Head, and jumped about her Neck. Infamous Fellow! (for do you deserve a more gentle Epithet?) was it that a Woman might unexpectedly, by your fuddenly discovering yourself, see a Male-Prostitute, was it for this that you filled the City with nocturnal Terrors, and for many Days struck a Dread through all-Italy? One Object of your Passion was at your House, but another, and a more seandalous one, was abroad, which was, left Lucius Plancus* should diffress your Bail. But when, by the

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This Lucius Planeus was Brother to Manacius Planeus, a Friend of Cicero's, and to whom a good many of his Epitles.

the Tribune of the People, you was brought into the Assembly, when you answered that your own Affairs had brought you thither, you became even the Jest of the Populace.

But enough of Trifles; let us now come to Affairs of greater Importance. When Cafar returned from Spain, you was by far the most forward of all others in meeting him:
You both went and returned with Dispatch, that he might know, though you was not valiant, you was at least active. Again, some way or other you came into his good Graces; but this was the Characteristic of Casar, that

are addressed. Lucius here spoken of, was Tribune of the People when Anthony owed all this Sum of Money to the Public and to Casar, and threatened us he would distress his Estate, in order to pay off his Debts.

There is, in the Original, a double Entendre, which made

che People a little merry.

2 Gicero has here hit upon the true Character of Casar, and almost of every Man who changes the State of a free People into Slavery. It was by first breaking the private Virtues of the Romans, that he only could pave his Way to those fundamental Alterations in the Constitution; such as the lengthning the Time of his Command, and suffering him to stand a Candidate for a public Office in his Absence. This Maxim he stuck close to even after his Ends were compassed, as appears from his Familiarity with Anthony, and several other bold lewd Fellows. Plutarch tells us a Story of Dyonysius the Elder, applicable enough to this Conduct of Casar. Some Persons reproaching him, for promoting a profligate Fellow, who was abhorred by the Citizens, to Honour; he replied, I want to have some one in the City more detested by the Citizens than myself; or he imitated Philip who had advised, that the Friendship of the most powerful Men of all the Towns, as well those who were virtuous, as those

when he knew a Man to be desperately in Debt and Want, and at the same time an enterprizing Miscreant, him he gladly received into his Bosom-Friendship.

HAVING these eminent Recommendations in your own Person, he ordered that you should be returned Conful even along with himfelf. It was not amiss that Dolabella, then prompted to stand for it, was persuaded and bubbled. But how treacherously you have both behaved to Dolabella is a secret to Nobody. Cafar prompted him to declare himfelf a Candidate, while he appropriated and transferred to himself what was thus promised and accepted of; and you clubbed your Interest with Casar in this Piece of Treachery. The first of January comes: We are forced into the Senate-House: Dolabella then inveighed more freely and more bitterly against this

who were wicked, should be fought after, that the one might be used, and the other abused,

² Cæsar had exhorted Publius Cornelius Dolabella to seek the Consulate, and had promised him his Assistance in that Assar; but having changed Sentiments, he deprived Dolabella of the Consulship promised him, and took it to himself, contrary to his Promise passed. Thus Dolabella was pushed on by Cæsar's Exhortations, soothed by his Promises, and at last affronted by an open Repulse.

b When Dolabella faw that he was deprived of the Confulate, and that Cafar had taken it to himself, taking it as an Affront, and not daring at the same Time to complain openly of Cafar,

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Coll Dola Plac this Fellow than I do now. But when he grew in a Passion, good Gods! What did he not say?

THEN Cæsar sirst of all told us, that before he should set out, he would order that Dolabella should be Consul: Yet they deny that a Man, who always talked and acted in this Manner, was a King. But when Cæsar had made this Declaration, this good Augur told us, that he was clothed with that holy Character he was able by his Auspices either to stop the Elections, or to render them void; and he made the most solemn Asseverations that he would exert this Power. Here you have one Proof of his incredible Stupidity.

For how! had you not have been Augur and yet been Conful, was it more difficult to effectuate what you faid you could do by your facerdotal Authority alone? Take Care that it is not more easy; for we have only the Right of declaring vested in us; the Right of In-

he spoke bitterly against Authony, and upbraided him with being persidious, that through him Casar might be reached. But Authony instantly slew into a Passion, and spoke so opprobriously to Dolabella, that the Conscript Fathers were angry with him, and Casar himself blushed so much for the Impudence of his Colleague, that he hushed the Debate, and in order to satisfy Dolabella, promised to put him in the Consulate, and in his own Place, before he should go to the Parthian War.

spection is vested in the Consuls, and even the other Magistrates. Well, I admit this to be but a Slip; for how can we expect Exactness in a Fellow always drunk? But remark his Impudence. He faid a great many Months before in the Senate-House, that he would either put a Negative upon Dolabella's Election by the Auspices, or that he would do what he actually did. But could any Man foresee what Defect there was to be in the Auspices, unless he had determined before-hand to interrupt the Election by observing them while the Comitia were holding? But this is never allowed of at the Comitia by our Laws, and if any Augur has observed them, they ought to be declared, not while the Comitia are holding, but before they are affembled. But his Ignorance and Impudence go hand in hand; he neither knows not what becomes an Augur, nor acts what confifts with Decency. You may remember his Conduct as Conful from that Day to the Ides of March: Was ever Beadle more fawning, more submissive? He could do nothing of himself; he requested every Thing; and thrusting his Head into Cafar's Litter, he petitioned his Colleague for the Gratuities which he himself exposed to Sale,

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THE Day comes for Dolabella's Election ; the preferring Lots are drawn. He remains quiet: They are declared, still he says nothing; the first Class of the prerogative Tribe is called, their Vote is reported: And then, as usual, the fecond Class is summoned to vote: All this was done sooner than I have spoken it. When Business was over, the worthy Augur (who would not think him another Lelius?) Y 4 called

· Cæfar had promised that before he went to the Parthian War, he would take Care that Dolabella should be created Conful in his Stead. When therefore the Day of the Comitia was approaching, he convened the People, and amongst all the Centuries into which they were distributed, one was to fall to him by Lot, whose Vote was to be asked. Antbony was satisfied, nor did he oppose that Way of going to Work by Lots. Having asked, received, and counted the Suffrages, Dolabella is returned, as having the Balance on his Side. Anthony in the mean Time was filent, and did not by a fingle Word infinuate, that these Comitia were corrupted. After the Prerogative Century, the first Class is called in to give its Suffrage, and in the usual Form the Votes are asked, and so the rest of the Classes. After the Constitution of the five and thirty Tribes, into which the Classes and their Centuries were divided; in the first Place the Tribes cast Lots, which should be the Prerogative Tribe, and then the Centuries of the Tribe for being the Prerogative Century. All the other Tribes and Centuries had the Appellation of Jure vocata, because they were called out according to their proper Places.

The Prerogative Century being chose by Lot, the chief Magistrate, fitting in a Tent in the Middle of the Campus Martius, ordered that Century to come out and give their Voices: Upon which they presently separated from the rest of the Multitude, and came into an inclosed Apartment, which they called Septa, or Ovilia, passing over the Pomes, or narrow Boards which they laid there for that Occasion, on which Account de ponte dejici is to be denied the Privilege of Voting; and Persons thus dealt with, were called Depontani. But for a full and accurate Account of this Matter, see Hook's Roman History.

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called out, ADJOURN. Matchless Impudence! What had you feen? What had you perceived? What had you heard? You neither then, nor to this Day pretend that you was observing the Heavens. This Bar therefore interposed, which so far back as the first of January you had seen and foretold. Therefore I trust in Heaven that you have belyed the Auspices rather to your own than your Country's Confusion. Under the Pretence of Religion you embarrassed the Roman People. You as an Augur protested against the Election of an Augur, and as a Conful against that of a I'll go no farther, lest I should feem to shake the Acts of Dolabella; which some time or other must necessarily be laid before our College.

But fee the Arrogance and Insolence of this Fellow ! As long as you pleased, Dolabelia was unduly elected Consul; and as soon as you changed your Mind he is created with regular Auspices. But if, when an Augur declares in the Words you declared in, they go for nothing, confess that when you called out ADJOURN, you was drunk: For if there is any Validity in these Words, I require you as

Anthony arrogated so much to himself, that he wanted the

against ANTONIUS. 329 as a Brother-Augur here to make it appear.

Bur left in my Speech I should skip over one most beautiful Incident of the many that have happened in the Course of Mark Anthony's Life, let me proceed to the Lupercal Games. He is no Hypocrite, Fathers Con-It is plain, that he is now touched, script. he sweats, he grows pale: Let him do any thing but vomit, as he did in the Minutian Portico. I should be glad to know what Apology can be made for so scandalous a Behaviour, that I may fee what Return he has had for the large Wages he paid to his Rhetoric-Master, and for the Leontine Field. Your Colleague fat in the Rostra, cloathed in a purple Robe', upon a golden Throne, with a Crown on his Head. You went up to him, you approached his Throne; though you was a Lupercal, yet still ought you to have remembered that you was at the fame time a Conful: You produced a royal Diadem: The Forum fet up a general Groan. From whence came that Diadem? You did not take up one that was thrown away: But you brought from home

[•] This was the Robe wore by Generals when they triumphed, according to *Plutarch*; it was likewife wore by Kings, according to *Dio*.

home the meditated, the concerted Treason. Every time you put it on his Head, the People sent up a Groan of Anguish: But when he rejected it, a Shout of Applause. You therefore, Traitor, alone, after establishing Tyranny, desired to have the Man who was you Colleague, to be your Sovereign, and at the same Time you made the Experiment how far the Patience and Forbearance of the Roman People could extend.

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You then affected to move his Compassion: You threw yourfelf as a Suppliant at his Feet: For what Favour? That you might be a Slave. This could be a Favour to you alone, who, from your Childhood, have lived fo as to bear any thing, fo as to render you a supple Slave: But fure you had no fuch Commission from us and the People of Rome. Beautiful was your Eloquence, when naked you harangued the People. Could any thing be more difgraceful, more infamous, more meriting the feverest Penalties than this? Do you expect that I am to gore you with my Stings? If you have the fmallest Particle of Sensation about you, this Speech must wound, must harrow up your Soul.

f Ile here concludes the Matter with a grievous Exclamation, because Anthony alone was found daring enough for that Attempt.

Soul. Tender, as I am, of detracting from the Glory of the greatest of Mankind, vet let me speak it in the Anguish of Spirit; What can be more shameful, than that the Man who bestowed a Royal Diadem should live. whilst all the World confesses, that the Man who rejected it, was deservedly put to Death ? He even ordered this Inscription to be entered into the Calendar at the Time of the Lubercals. ' That Mark Anthony the Conful, at the Command of the People, offered to Caius · Cafar perpetual Dictator, Royalty; but that ' Cafar refused it.' Now indeed I am not all furprised that you disturb the public Tranquility; that you not only hate the City, but the Sun. That you pass your Life with these most abandoned Ruffians, not only intemperately. but without any manner of Thought; for in Time of Peace where can you have a Footing? How can you be sheltered by Laws and Regulations, who did your best by introducing Sovereign Authority, to abolish them? Was Lucius Tarquinius banished? Was Spurius Cashus. Melius, Marcus Manlius put to Death for this, that many Ages after, contrary to all Law , a King should be set up at Rome by Marcus

E Livy, lib. 2. has these Words, Omnium primum avidum nova libertatis populum, ne post modum slessi precibus, aut de ils regiis posset,

332 CICERO'S ORATION Marcus Antonius? But to return to the Aufpices.

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GIVE me Leave to ask you how you would have behaved in the Business which was to have come before Casar on the Ides of March. I hear indeed, that you came prepared, because you imagined that I was to have spoken upon the Auspices, which, though sictitious, there was a Necessity of obeying. The Guardian Genius of Rome freed you from the Danger of that Day: But do you imagine, that the Death of Casar has prevented your being tried upon the Nature of these Auspices? But I have touched upon a Juncture prior to those Facts with which my Speech set out.

How you fled, how you trembled on that glorious Day! Into what a Fit of Despair did you fall through the Consciousness of your Guilt, while out of the General Rout you privately retired

posset, jure jurando adegit neminem Roma passuros regnare. And these Things they swore, standing over slain Victims, not only for themselves, but for their Posterity, that neither Sollicitations, nor any Royal Gifts, should ever prevail with them to admit regal Government again into Rome.

mit regal Government again into Rome.

It would appear as if Cicero had an Intention to arraign Anthony for this before the Senate. From this Passage it seems probable, that Cicero knew not that Cæsar was to be killed on that Day.

retired to your own House, being favoured by those who meant that you should be safe, could you have been but found. O my vainly unerring prophetic Spirit! I told our brave Deliverers in the Capitol, when they defired me to go and exhort you to protect the State, that while you was under the Influence of Fear, you would promise every thing; but, that Influence removed, that you would return to your own Nature. Therefore, while the other Confulars were going to, and returning from you, I was still fixed in my Opinion; I did not see you all that and the following Day, as not believing that any Coalition could be formed by any Ties, betwixt the best of Patriots and most inveterate of Rebels. Three Days after I came to the Temple of Tellus ", even against my Will, fince the Avenues to it were blocked up by Soldiers under Arms. What a Day, Mark Anthony, was that for

Commentators have made very botching Work here. The Original is, irent, redirent, which fignifies no more than that they altered their Way of Thinking of Anthony, fometimes to one Way, fometimes to another; but, fays Cicero, ego in fententia manss, "I still kept in the same Way of Thinking."

^{*} The Day on which the Senate met in the Temple of Tellus, is very often mentioned by Cicero with great Pleasure; but I cannot understand why, fince they met so amicably; all the Avenues and Entries were blocked up with armed Men. One should have thought that the Friends of the Republick would have taken the Alarm at this, and suspected that Anthony did not mean them fair.

you! Though all of a sudden you have commenced my Foe, yet do you move my Pity, in that you have thus become your own.

IMMORTAL Gods! how good, how great a Man you might have been, could you have retained a just Sense of what passed on that Day! We might have had a Peace that was fealed by a Hostage, a noble Youth, the Grandson of Marcus Bambalio. Though Fear, for a while, made you a worthy Citizen, yet the Restraint was but of a short Continuance. That Audaciousness which is your inseparable Attendant when you are not influenced by Fear, rendered you a Miscreant. And even at that Time, while you flood fairest in their Opinion, though I still dissented, like a Traitor as you was, you was Chief Mourner at the Funeral of the Tyrant, if a Funeral it can be called: Thine was his plaufible Panegyric 1; thine the Pity that was expressed, and thine the Exhortation that was delivered. You, you, I fay, kindled those Brands, those with which his Body was half confumed, and those which burnt down the House

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This is the same Harangue which Shakespeare has so beautifully imitated. See the Notes upon the first Philippic.

House of Lucius Belienus " It was you who let loofe upon us those desperate Russians, for the most part Slaves, whose Attacks we were forced to repell by Violence; yet as if your Foulness had been wiped off, the following Days you passed some noble Decrees of the Senate in the Capitol, that no Bill for a Favour should be affixed on Account of any Man after the Ides of March. You yourself mentioned the Exiles: You know what you talked about Immunities: But to crown all, you for ever abolished out of the Government the Office of Dictator. By this last Action it appeared, that you had so entire an Aversion for Kingly Government, that you was resolved to take away all Apprehension of it, upon the Account of the last Dictator.

To others the State of Affairs feemed to be in Tranquility; but far different were my Thoughts: For while you fat at the Helm, I dreaded a general Wreck. Was I mistaken in him? Or could he longer be unlike himfelf? Bills were fluck up all over the Capitol in your Sight; Immunities passed not only to fingle

m This was a Senator, whose House the People, instigated by Anthony's Speeches, fee on Fire, and had certainly proceeded farther, had they not been quelled by Dolabella.

fingle Persons, but to whole States. The Privileges of Rome were granted not only to Particulars, but to whole Provinces. Therefore, Fathers Conscript, if these Acts shall remain in Force, which could have no Force were our Constitution inviolate, you may bid adieu to all your Provinces. Not only your Revenues, but the whole System of Roman Power must sink by this domestic Venality.

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Where is the 5,000,000 of Money, which was entered in the Books, kept in the Temple of Ops? Fatal indeed were his Treasures. But provided they were not returned to their right Owners, they were sufficient to supply the Exigencies of State. But by what Means could you, who on the Ides of March was in Debt for above thirty thousand Pounds, pay it off clear before the first of April? Innumerable indeed were the Favours which by your Connivance were brought by different Hands; but one notable Decree was stuck up in the Capitol relating to Dejotarus, the firm

Some Copies have here the following Words. Quid ego de Commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus Chirographis Loquar? But they are justly repeated as spurious by the best Commentators.

Dejotarus, King of Gallogracia, stiled by the Senate, the.
Friend of the People of Rome, and King of Armenia the Lesser,

Friend of the Roman People : A Measure which one, in the middle of their deepest Concern, could not help laughing at. For was ever one Man more the Enemy of another, than Cafar was to Dejotarus? As he was of this Order, of the Roman Knights, of the Inhabitants of Marfeilles, and of all whose Passion was for the Glory of the Roman Empire. Dejotarus therefore became the Favourite of a Man when dead, from whom when alive he neither, either present or abfent, received the least Kindness, or the least Justice. While Casar was on Earth, he prosecuted Dejotarus, who entertained him at his Court; he fleeced him, he squeezed Money from him, he placed one of his Greek Attendants over his Tetrarchy; he deprived him of Armenia, which had been granted Vol. II. him

was along with Pompey in the Battle of Pharfalia : But Pompey being overcome by Cafar, he returned into his own Kingdom ? he appealed Cajar by fending him the Horses, and the Money he demanded of him; whom he also received into one of his Forts, when going forth against Pharmaces. He was accused by his own Subjects as if he intended to kill Casar when staying with him. He was defended by Cicero. But he was deprived of one Part of Gallogracia by Cafar, and Armenia given him by the Senate. But Calar being killed, whatever he had been deprived of was restored to him. But Anthony, the King's Ambassadors diffuading, promised that if Dejotarus would give him a certain Sum, he would produce an Edict, by Means of which, whatever had been taken from him by Cafer, should be restored to him, as if that had been found in his Pocker-Book.

338 CICERO's ORATION him by the Senate; all this when alive he robbed him of, when dead he restored.

Bur in what Expressions? Sometimes he fays, He thinks it reasonable, and sometimes not unreasonable: A rare Gingle of Words! but Cafar never faid that any Thing even appeared reasonable to him, that we solicited for Dejotarus, for whose Interest I always appeared in his Absence. A Note under his own Hand, for the Sum of above feventy-eight thousand Pounds, was without my Knowledge, or the Knowledge of any of his other Friends by the Deputies of Dejotarus, Men of Honour indeed, but dastardly and unexperienced, was made in his Seraglio, which was and still is a Mart of Venality for many wicked Purposes. My Advice is, that you should confider well how you are to dispose of this Note; for that Prince, by his own Bravery and by his own Address, without having Recourse to any of Cæsar's Journals, as soon as he heard of his Death, recovered his Estate. As he was a wife Man, he knew well that whatever Tyrants plundered from the lawful Poffesfors, the former Possessors, upon the Death of the Tyrant, have a Right to recover it. None of your Lawyers therefore, not even that Fellow who

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who is your fole Agent, and who advised you to this Step, pretend that you have a Title, by virtue of this Note, to any Thing that was recovered before it was granted; for he did not buy it of you, because he was in Possession of his Property before that Bargain was made. Dejotarus acted as a Man, but we like despicable Sycophants, who ratify the Acts of the Tyrant we deteft.

Why then need I to mention the endless Journals, and the numberless Notes of Hand. which Forgers usually sell like Prize-fighting Bills? Hence it is, that fuch Heaps of Coin are piled up at his House, that it is not told, but weighed out. But how blind is Avarice! A Bill was lately fluck up, by which the most wealthy Cities of Crete were freed from their Taxes; and it is enacted, That that Island should never be a Province after the Expiration of the Proconsulate of Marcus Brutus. Art thou in thy Senses? Oughtest thou not to be confined ?? Can Crete be exempted after that Term, when Brutus had nothing to do with Z 2: Crete

P This is very inculting Language; but at the same Time it was a very gross imposition, which Ambony wanted to palm upon the Senses of Mankind, by pretending that Casar had made an Act freeing Crees from paying Tribute, after the Expiration of the Proconsulate of Brutus, when Casar could not know that it was to fall to Brutus's Share.

Crete while Cæsar was alive? But lest ye should think there is nothing in this, ye have lost the Province of Crete by the Venality of this Decree. Never did any Man buy any Thing that Anthony is not ready to sell.

DID Cafar too pass the Law relating to Exiles, which you fluck up? I infult no Man upon his Misfortune: Yet I complain, in the first place, that they whose Case Casar adjudged to be different, have been put upon a scandalous Footing as to their Return from Banishment. In the next Place, I can see no Reason why you should not extend this Indulgence to all; for not above three or four are excepted. Why should not they, who are equally Partners in Calamity, be equally the Objects of your Compassion? Why should you treat these as if each of them was your Uncle, whom you refused to recommend, when you recommended others, whom however you prompted to stand for the Cenforship, and for that Purpose prepared a Petition, which at once raised the Laughter and Indignation of Mankind?

But why did you not hold that Comitie? Was it because a Tribune of the People inform-

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ed you, that he had heard Thunder q on his left Hand, though Heaven never interests herfelf in what concerns you? But in what concerns your Relations, you are scrupulously religious. How! did you not desert him when he put in to be a Septemvir'? But he intruded. What was you afraid of? I suppose, least you could not have denied him without exposing yourself. With all Manner of Abuse you affronted the Man, whom, had you had the least Sense of your Duty, you ought to have looked upon as a fecond Father. His Daughter, your Cousin, you drove away, having first looked out, and bargained for another Match. That was not enough, you scandaloufly defamed a Woman of the strictest Virtue. Could you go farther? Yes, you was not even fatisfied with that: In a full House of the Senate, where your Uncle was present on the first of January, you had the Impudence to fay, That the Ground of your Difference with Dolabella, was, because you had discovered that he had debauched your Cousin and

The Romans took great Notice of the Quarter from whence, Thunder proceeded, and its coming from an unfavourable Quarter was enough to defeat the most important Resolutions.

Z 2

Seven Commissioners called the Septemviri, were appointed for taking Care of the Feasts appointed in Honour of the Gods. Others think that Cicero here means one of the feven Commissioners appointed after Casar's Death for dividing the Came tanian and the Leontine Lands.

Wife. Who can fay on this Occasion which was most predominant, your Imprudence in the Senate, your Villainy against Dolabella, your Indecency in the Hearing of your Father, or your cruel Language against an unfortunate Lady?

Bur let us return to the Notes of Hand. Where then were your Proofs? For Cafar's Acts were, for the Sake of Peace, ratified by the Senate, at least all that Cafar enacted, not all that Anthony faid he had enacted. From whence are they iffued? Upon what Authority are they produced? If false, why are they valid? If genuine, why are they fold? But it was the Sense of the Senate, that from the first of June the Consuls should, with Assistants, take Cognizance of the Acts of Cafar. But, who were these Affistants? Whom did you ever summon? What first of June did you expect? That on which having made a Circuit over all the Colonies of the Veterans, you returned to Rome guarded with an armed Force. How glorious was that Progress during all the Months of April and May! Even when you attempted to introduce your Capuan Settlement, we know what a Retreat you made

made from thence, or rather what a Stay you had almost made.

You threaten Capua; I wish you would proceed so far, as that the almost I just now mentioned may be out of the Question. But how grand was that Procession of yours! Need I to mention your fumptuous Entertainments, or your incessant hard Drinking? But that was your Loss, the other was our's. When the Territory of Campania was exempted from Taxes, that it might be divided among the Soldiers, we thought it a gross Violation of the Constitution. But you divided it amongst your Gamesters and Debauchees. Would you believe it, Fathers Conscript, that Actors and Actresses were settled upon the Campanian Territories? After that, why should I complain of the Territory of Leontium? Yet both thefe Estates brought in a large and plentiful Re-venue to the public Treasury of the Roman People. Three thousand Acres to a Physician, as if he could have made you found; and two thousand to a Rhetoric Master, as if he could have made you eloquent. But to return to your Journey, and to the Country of Italy.

Z 4

You.

You brought a Colony to fettle at Cafilinum', where Cafar had fettled one before. You confulted me indeed by Letters about the Affair of Capua (had you done the same with regard to Cafilinum, I had returned you the same Anfwer) Whether you lawfully could bring a new Colony to a Place where a Colony had been already settled. I denied, while a Colony which was fettled by regular Auspices was unimpaired, that any new Colony could be brought in; but I admitted, that new Planters might be added to the former. But, you infolently difregarding and violating all the Laws of Auspices, brought a Colony to Casilinum, where another had been a few Years before fettled, that you might rear a Banner, and drive round a Plough, whose Share almost rubbed upon the Gate of Capua, that you might impair the Territory of a very flourishing Colony.

AFTER this Violation of what was facred, you flew to the Cafilinian Estate of M. Varre, a Man of the greatest Sanctity and Integrity. By what Right? With what Front? The same you will say, as those with which you dispossed

This is a Town in Campania.

Turselius, of their Estate, and got Possession of a great many more. If you bought it at a Sale, let the Sale be legal, let the Bills be legal, I mean Casar's Bills, not your's; the Bills by which you are a Debtor, not those by which your Debt was paid. But who can pretend that the Casilinian Estate of Varro was sold? Who ever saw the Conditions of Sale? Who ever heard the Voice of an Auctioneer? You say you sent one to Alexandria to purchase it of Casar; because it would seem that it was too long to wait till Casar should come to Rome.

But whoever heard, though there was no Man in whom the Public took greater Concern, that any Part of Varro's Estate was sequestred? Yet should it be proved, that Casar himself wrote to you, that you should refund it; what can the World say bad enough of such Impudence? Call off but for a little those Arms which are in our View; I will let you know the Difference betwixt Casar's Authority for ordering a Sale, and your audacious Impudence. For not only shall it be in the Power of Varro himself as a Proprietor, but of

346 CICERO'S ORATION
any Friend, Neighbour, Guest, or Steward
that he has, to drive you out of that Estate.

BUT for how many Days did you hamefully revel in that Villa? From the third Hour there was but one continued Round of Drinking, Gaming, and Vomitting; the very Gates were to be pitied: What a Change of Masters was there! But how can he be called their Master? Yer how unlike is he to the Person whom he dispossessed! For Marcus Varro meant that this Seat should be a Retreat for Study, and not a Haunt for Lewdness. In that Retirement, before that Time, how delightful were the Conversations, the Reasonings, the Writings upon the Constitution of the Roman People, the Monuments of our Fathers, and upon the Speculation and Practice of Philosophy! But during your Intrusion (for I will not call it Possession) the Walls refounded with the Noise of Drunkards; the Pavements were deluged; the Walls were stained with Wine; Boys of liberal Birth and Education were confounded with mercenary Catamites, and Matrons with common Whores, People came from Cafilinum, Aquinum, Interamna, to pay you their Compliments; no body had Access. There you was in the right; for

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ogainst ANTONIUS. 347
for in a scandalous Fellow, the Lustre of Badges
of Dignity is tarnished.

In his return to Rome, when he came to Aquinum, which is a populous Town, great Numbers came out to meet him; but he was carried in a close Sedan through the Streets as if he had been dead. The Inhabitants of Aquinum acted foolishly, if you will; but what could they do? They lived on the Road. But how can those of Anagni be excused who lived off the Road, yet came down, and paid him all the Compliments due to a real Conful. Who can believe it? Yet by all Accounts he never returned one Salute, though he had in his Retinue two Inhabitants of Anagni, Mustelia, and Laco; the first an excellent Fencer, the other an excellent Drinker. Why should I recount the Threatenings and Abuses he threw out against the Sidicinians? He oppressed the Inhabitants of Puteoli for having put themselves under the Patronage of the Bruti and of Cassius; from a strong Principle, from Affection, from Friendship and Love, not from Dread and Terror, as they were forced to follow you and Bafilius, whom no body would choose as Clients, much less as Patrons.

In the mean time, during your Absence, what a glorious Day happened to your Colleague', when in the Forum he demolished the Burial Place which you used to worship! Upon your hearing this News, we are told by those who were in your Train, that you was quite struck with Consternation. What happened afterwards I know not; I suppose Fear, and the Terror of Arms then took Place. You dispossessed your Colleague of the Heaven of his Glory; you rendered him indeed not so bad as Anthony, but surely far unlike to Dolabella. But how did you return to Rome? What a Consternation you struck in the whole City!

WE remembered Cinna too powerful; Sylla afterwards domineering: We had just seen an End of Cæsar's Reign. These perhaps had Swords, but their Swords were sheathed, and but sew in Number. But, how like a March of Barbarians was that? Battalions of Soldiers, with their Swords in their Hands, attended them, and we saw Bucklers piled up in Litters

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t It is easy to perceive, that Cicero really had a Kindness for Dolabella, who was Anthony's Colleague; for here he imputes all his Mismanagements only to Anthony's ill Example and Influence.

^{*} As if they had been designed and ready for Action.

Litters carried along. But, Fathers Conscript, so frequent were these Objects, that our Senses grew quite callous on feeing them. On the first of June, when by Adjournment we attempted to meet in the Senate, struck with sudden Fear, each of us fled.

Burishe who neither wanted nor defired any Senate, and who was rather glad at our Departure, immediately fet about his strange and wonderful Operations. He who while he could gain by it had stood up for the Validity of Cafar's Notes, difannulled Cafar's Laws, though some of them excellent in themselves, that he might overthrow the Constitution. He prorogued the Number of Years, during which a Province could be held; and the fame Man who ought to have been a Champion for Cafar's Acts, repealed them all, whether of a public or private Nature. In public Concerns nothing is more authentic than a Law: In private nothing more binding than a Will. Some Laws he disannulled without any Promulgation, others he stuck up, that he might abrogate those already promulged. He disannulled a Will; a Deed that, amongst the lowest Rank of Citizens, is always valid. The Statues and Pictures, which, together with his Gardens.

Gardens, Cafar had bequeathed as a Legacy to the Roman People; these he carried off, partly to Pempey's Gardens, partly to Scipio's Villa:

ARE you then jealous of Cafar's Memory? Do you love him even in Death? What greater Honour could be attain to while alive. than to have a Shrine, an Image, a PAYILION, and a Priest? Therefore, as Jove, as Mars, as Remulus have their Priests, so is Mark Anthony Priest to the deified Cafar. Why do you stop here? Why are you not consecrated? Name your Day: Look out for a proper Perfon to perform the Ceremony: We are Colleagues, no body will withstand it. Detestable Wretch! Whether confidered as the Prieft of a Tyrant, or of a breathless Body. I then demand of you, whether you know what a Day this is? Are you ignorant that Yesterday was the fourth Day of the Roman Games in the Circus? That you yourfelf proposed a Law to the People, that a fifth Day should be referved for Cafar? Why then are we not in our proper Robes ? Why do we now fuf-

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Tommentators have very different Opinions with regard to this Passage. Cicero here reproaches Anthony, because they were not in their Robes upon the Occasion of a Festival devoted to the

against ANTONIUS. 354 rer an Honour to Cuesar, decreed by your Law, to be neglected? Do you, who have suffered that a Day should be profuned by the Addition of Thanksgivings, resule him Shrines? Either abolish your Superstition in every Respect, or preserve it entirely.

You may perhaps demand of me whether I approve of a Shrine, a PAVILION, and a Priest? No, I am against them all. But you, who insist upon ratifying the Acts of Casar, how can you account for ratifying some, and neglecting others? Unless by owning that you made every thing square with your Interest, not with his Dignity. What other Answer can you make? I am impatient to have a Specimen of your Oratorical Faculties. I know that your Grandfather was a Man of great Eloquence; but he never was so perspicuous a Speaker as you:

the Memory of Cusar. This has occasioned some to imagine, that the Senators were always Pretextati, that is in their Robes of Ceremby: Others think, that Cicero here speaks only in Quality of Augur, who likewise had a Right to the Pretexta. Others are of Opinion, with great Probability, that Anthony's Zeal had carried him so far as sto get a Decree passed, that the Senators should be present at the Games celebrated in his Homour in their Robes.

* Cicero throws out here a good deal of Wit; I am not sure if it is of the most pure Kind. The Pun he makes use of is better understood in the Original, than it can be in the Translation: Differeissimum cognovi avum tuum. At the stiam apertiorum in dicendo ille nunquam nudus ost concionatus tuum bominis simplicis Pectus widemus.

you; for he never harangued while he was naked. Your plain Honesty bared your very Bostom to us. What! no Answer to this? Won't you so much as mouthe at one? Is there nothing in all this long Oration which you hope you can answer? But what is past I omit.

THIS very instant Day, in the single Moment of Time I am now speaking, account for it if you can, who the Senate is environed with a Body of Soldiers under Arms? Why are your Guards here present with Swords in their Hands? Why are not the Doors of the Temple of Concord thrown open? Why do you bring into the Forum the Ityraans, a Race the most savage of all Mankind, with their Quivers and their Darts? He answers me, that he does it to guard himself. Are not a thousand Deaths then preferable to your not being able to live in your own Country without a Guard of armed Soldiers? But feeble and weak, believe me, is that Guard; the Affections, the Love of your Fellow-Citizens, and not your Arms, must be your Defence.

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We see that it has been a very old Maxim, that a Tyrant never was safe when surrounded by Guards: It is upon the Assections of the People alone that a sure Sway can be sonaded.

These the Roman People will pluck out of your Hands, and I hope we shall live to fee it. But however you may dispose of us, believe me, when you follow fuch Counfellors, your Reign will be but short. For too long has thy generous Spoufe 2 (I mention her, I hope, with Decency) owed the third Debt she has to pay to the People of Rome. The Romans have still able Steersmen to place at the Helm of their Government. Through whatever Quarters of the World they are dispersed, with them remains the Safety of this State, or rather the State itself, which, though just avenged of her Wrongs, has not yet recovered her Luftre. True it is, our Country has Youths of the greatest Quality and Virtues, determined to defend her. However Conveniency may make it expedient for them to retire, yet the Distresses of their Country can recall them. Harmonious is the Name of Peace, and falutary her Qualities; but wide is the difference between Peace and Servitude. Peace is the Tranquility of Freedom; Slavery, the most detestable of Evils, is to be averted, not by Force only, Vol. H.

Fulvia, who was Anthony's Wife, had had three Husbands, Clodius, Curio, and Anthony. The first was killed by Milo; the second, being sent by Caesar against Juba, King of Mauritania, was deseated and killed; and Cicero here prognosticates the Death of her third Husband, who was Anthony.

but even by Death. But though our brave Deliverers have withdrawn themselves from our Eyes, yet have they left a glorious Precedent. They have done what no Man ever did before; Brutus, in the Field of Battle, fought Tarquin, who was a King, while Monarchy was agreeable to the Constitution of Rome. Spurius Cassius, Spurius Melius, Marcus Manlius, were put to Death for incurring but a Suspicion of affecting Loyalty. But our Deliverers have the Merit of being the first whose Swords reached not the Affector, but the Possession of Regal Power; an Action which, as it was glorious, nay divine in itfelf, so it is worthy our Imitation, since the Glory of its Authors is such, as that Heaven itself seems too narrow to contain it. For though the Consciousness of performing an amiable Action is a sufficient Reward; yet in my Opinion Immortality ought to appear no despicable Prize to a Mortal.

CALL to Mind therefore, Marcus Antonius, that glorious Day when you abolished the Dictatorship; set in View the Transports of the Senate and the People of Rome; oppose to these Objects the Bags hoarded up by Thee and Thine; then wilt thou be sensible of the Difference

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Difference betwixt Praise and Profit. But in vain: For as some People, benumbed and diseased, lose all Taste for the most savoury Food, thus the Lustful, the Covetous, the Guilty, never can taste the exalted Relish of true Glory. But if Glory has no Charms to reclaim you to your Duty, has Fear nothing to deter you from your miscreant Purposes? You difregard all judiciary Proceedings; if this arises from a Consciousness of Innocence. I commend it; if from the Insolence of Power. little are you sensible how much the Man has to dread, who entertains such a Disregard. But if you are above dreading any thing from brave Men and worthy Citizens, whom by Means of your Arms you fet at Defiance, as to any Attempt upon your Person; yet believe me, your own Creatures will not long endure you. What a Life is it to be Day and Night in Alarms from your own People, unless they are under greater Obligations to you, than any of Cæsar's Destroyers were to him? But are you in any respect to be compared with him ?? He had Capacity, Sense, Memory, Learning, Forefight, Aa2

We have here a very fine Encomium upon Cæsar, whom Cicero describes as possessing the greatest Qualifications. We are told by Pliny, that he was capable at the same Time, to write and to read, to dictate and to give Audiences: That he could dictate to four Clerks all at once; and if he had no other Business on his Hands, to seven. We have many other Instances of his great Capacity and Quickness, both from his Cotemporaries and other Authors.

Forefight, Reflection, and Spirit. His warlike Atchievements, though ruinous to his Country, were glorious to himself. Through inexpressible Toil, through numberless Dangers, he laid a Scheme b for a long Possession of Power: What he projected he persected: With Presents, with Shews, with Largesses, with Entertainments, he soothed the heedless. Vulgar; by his Liberality he obliged his Friends, and by a Semblance of Clemency, his Enemies. In short, partly with Fear, and partly by Patience, he made the Habit of Slavery tolerable to a free State.

THE Lust of Power, I own, was indeed in common to you both, though in no other repect can you admit of a Comparison with him. But from all the Missortunes inflicted by him upon our Country this Advantage accrued, that the People of Rame have now learned how far any Man is to be believed; they have learned whom to trust, and whom to avoid. This gives you no Concern, nor do you dream that it is enough for the bravest of Men to have now learned how amiable in

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b It is very probable, that if the Conspirators against Cæsar had not cut him off in the Manner they did, he would have enjoyed a long and a happy Reign. Perhaps, as Things sell out atterwards, it had been happy for the Romans, if he had lived till he had seen the great Designs he had formed, both civil and military, put in Execution. By what we learn in this Oration, and in the preceding one, they must have been very advantageous for the Constitution of Rome.

itself, how agreeable in the Consequences, and how glorious in its Report it is, to kill a Tyrant. If they could not bear with a Casar, will they endure an Antonius?

EAGERLY, believe me, will the World henceforword run into fuch an Enterprize; nor will they ever long wait for an Opportunity. Cast a considering Eye, Marcus Antonius, at last upon your Country. Reslect not on those with whom you live, but on those from whom you are descended: However you may stand with me, yet reconcile yourself to your Country. But of this you are the best Judge; one Thing for my own Part, I will here openly declare. In my Youth 1 defended my Country; in my old Age I will not abandon her. The Swords of Catiline I despited , never shall I dread yours. With Pleafure flould I expose my Person, if by my Blood the Liberties of Rome could be immediately recovered, and the People of Rome could be delivered from that painful Load they have been fo long in Labour of. For if

This is a very artful Infinuation at the End of a Speech; it

Perhaps this Part of our Author's Speech cost him dearer than all the rest. He had great Authority and Weight in the Senate, and with the People: And however Anthony might despise his Invective and Railing, yet it is not to be supposed that he could be easy while such a Man as Cicro, who here so openly threatens him, lived. It was therefore no Wonder, if the first Preliminary of his Agreement with Anthony and Lepidus was, that Cicero should be given up to his Sword.

almost twenty Years ago in this very Temple. I declared that no Death could be untimely to me, when Consular; much more truly can I declare the same now, that I am an aged Man. To me, Fathers Conscript, Death is even desirable, now that I have performed all the Duties which my Station and Character required. Two Things only I have now to wish for: The first (than which the Gods themselves can bestow nothing on me more grateful is, that I may leave Rome in the Enjoyment of her Liberty: The other, that the Reward of every Man be proportioned to what he has deserved of his Country.

awakes in the Mind an Idea of the Character of Catiline, which is applicable to Anthony, and the Deliverer of Rome, which is applied to Caefar.

See the fourth Oration against Catiline.

These are the Questorship, the Ædileship, the Pratorship, the Consulship, the Proconsulship of Cilicia, the Augurship, two Thanksgivings decreed in Honour of him, the Name of General bestowed on him, the Renown of being the first Orator of the Age, and the Honour of a Triumph, unless his Return from Cilicia had happened amidst the Commotions of the Civil War,

He closes his Oration with two wishes: That at his Death he may leave the Republic free from the Tyranny of Anthony, and that the good Civizens may flourish and be happy; but that the Seditious, and those who are guilty of Oppression, might receive a Punishment proportioned to the Enormity of their Crimes. Demostheres concludes his Oration concerning the Crown in the same Manner with Wishes. His Words are, Min, Shit warres bear Menoral Gods wink not at these Things, but in the first Place give these People a sounder Mind; but if they are incurable, utterly destroy them, both by Sea and Land, and speedily delivering us from the Terrors we labour under, secure our Peace and Happiness.

The End of the SECOND TODOME.